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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.



ROMAN SECTION.

PART II.

CATO THE YOUNGER, TO POMPEY THE GREAT.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

LANGHORNE TRANSLATION.

Text and Notes Complete and Revised, with Index.

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LONDON
FREDERICK WARNE AND CO.
AND NEW YORK.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

LUCULLUS.

THE grandfather of Lucullus was a man of consular dignity ; Metellus, surnamed Numidicus, was his uncle by his mother's side. His father was found guilty of embezzling the public money, and his mother, Cæcilia, had but an indifferent reputation for chastity. As for Lucullus himself, while he was but a youth, before he solicited any public charge, or attempted to gain a share in the administration, he made his first appearance in impeaching Servilius the augur, who had been his father's accuser. As he had caught Servilius in some act of injustice in the execution of his office, all the world commended the prosecution, and talked of it as an indication of extraordinary spirit. Indeed, where there was no injury to revenge, the Romans considered the business of impeachments as a generous pursuit, and they chose to have their young men fasten upon criminals, like so many well-bred hounds upon their prey.

The cause was argued with so much vehemence, that they came to blows, and several were wounded, and some killed ; in the end, however, Servilius was acquitted. But though Lucullus lost his cause, he had great command both of the Greek and Latin tongues ; insomuch that Sylla dedicated his Commentaries to him, as a person who could reduce the acts and incidents to much better order, and compose a more agreeable history of them, than himself. For his eloquence was not only occasional, or exerted when necessity called for it, like that of other orators who beat about them in the *forum*,

As sport, the vaulting tunny in the main,

but when they are out of it,

And dry, inelegant, and dead,—

He had applied himself to the sciences called *liberal*, and was deep in the study of *humanity* from his youth; and in his age he withdrew from public labours, of which he had had a great share, to repose himself in the bosom of philosophy, and to enjoy the speculations she suggested; bidding a timely adieu to ambition after his difference with Pompey. To what we have said of his ingenuity and skill in languages, the following story may be added. While he was but a youth, as he was jesting one day with Hortensius the orator, and Sisenna the historian, he undertook to write a short history of the Marsi, either in Greek or Latin verse, as the lot should fall. They took him at his word, and, according to the lot, it was to be in Greek. That history of his is still extant.

Among the many proofs of his affection for his brother Marcus, the Romans speak most of the first. Though he was much older than Marcus, he would not accept any office without him, but waited his time. This was so agreeable to the people, that in his absence they created him ædile along with his brother.

Though he was but a stripling at the time of the Marsian war, there appeared many instances of his courage and understanding. But Sylla's attachment to him was principally owing to his constancy and mildness. On this account he made use of his services from first to last in his most important affairs. Amongst other things, he gave him the direction of the mint. It was he who coined most of Sylla's money in Peloponnesus during the Mithridatic war. From him it was called Lucullia; and it continued to be chiefly in use for the occasions of the army, for the goodness of it made it pass with ease.

Some time after this Sylla engaged in the siege of Athens; and though he was victorious by land, the superiority of the enemy at sea straitened him for provisions. For this reason he despatched Lucullus into Egypt and Libya, to procure him a supply of ships. It was then the depth of winter; yet he scrupled not to sail with three small Greek brigantines and as many small Rhodian galleys, which were to meet strong seas, and a number of the enemy's ships which kept watch on all sides, because their strength lay there. In spite of this opposition he reached Crete, and brought it over to Sylla's interest.

From thence he passed to Cyrene, where he delivered the people from the tyrants and civil wars with which they had been harassed, and re-established their constitution. In this he availed himself of a saying of Plato, who when he was desired to give them a body of laws, and to settle their government upon rational principles, gave them this oracular answer: "It is very difficult to give laws to so prosperous a people." In fact, *nothing is harder to govern than man when Fortune smiles, nor anything more tractable than he when calamity lays her hand upon him.* Hence it was that Lucullus found the Cyrenians so pliant and submissive to his regulations.

From Cyrene he sailed to Egypt, but was attacked by pirates on his way, and lost most of the vessels he had collected. He him-

self escaped, and entered the port of Alexandria in a magnificent manner, being conducted in by the whole Egyptian fleet set off to the best advantage, as it used to be when it attended the king in person. Ptolemy,¹ who was but a youth, received him with all demonstrations of respect, and even lodged and provided him a table in his own palace; an honour which had not been granted before to any foreign commander. Nor was the allowance for his expenses the same which others had, but four times as much. Lucullus, however, took no more than was absolutely necessary, and refused the king's presents, though he was offered no less than the value of 80 talents. It is said, he neither visited Memphis, nor any other of the celebrated wonders of Egypt; thinking it rather the business of a person who has time, and only travels for pleasure, than of him who had left his general engaged in a siege, and encamped before the enemy's fortifications.

Ptolemy refused to enter into alliance with Sylla for fear of bringing war upon himself, but he gave Lucullus a convoy to escort him to Cyprus, embraced him at parting, and respectfully offered him a rich emerald set in gold. Lucullus at first declined it, but upon the king's showing him his own picture engraved on it, he was afraid to refuse it, lest he should be thought to go away with hostile intentions, and in consequence have some fatal scheme formed against him at sea.

In his return he collected a number of ships from the maritime towns, excepting those that had given shelter and protection to pirates, and with this fleet he passed over to Cyprus. There he found that the enemy's ships lay in wait for him under some point of land, and therefore he laid up his fleet, and wrote to the cities to provide him quarters and all necessities, as if he intended to pass the winter there. But as soon as the wind served, he immediately launched again, and proceeded on his voyage, lowering his sails in the day-time, and hoisting them again when it grew dark; by which stratagem he got safe to Rhodes. There he got a fresh supply of ships, and found means to persuade the people of Cos and Cnidus to quit Mithridates, and join him against the Samians. With his own forces he drove the king's troops out of Chios; took Epigonus, the Colophonian tyrant prisoner, and set the people free.

At this time Mithridates was forced to abandon Pergamus, and had retired to Pitana. As Fimbria shut him up by land, he cast his eyes upon the sea, and in despair of facing in the field that bold and victorious officer, collected his ships from all quarters. Fimbria saw this, but was sensible of his want of naval strength, and therefore sent to entreat Lucullus to come with his fleet, and assist him in taking a king who was the most warlike and virulent enemy the Romans had. "Let not Mithridates," said he, "the

¹ Palmerius takes this for Ptolemy Auletes; but Auletes was not king till 68 a.c. It must, therefore, have been

Ptolemy Lathyrus. For Sylla concluded the peace with Mithridates 62 a.c.

glorious prize which has been sought in so many labours and conflicts, escape ; as he is fallen into the hands of the Romans, and is already in their net. When he is taken, who will have a greater share in the honour than he who stops his flight, and catches him as he goes ? If I shut him up by land, and you do the same by sea, the palm will be all our own. What value will Rome then set upon the actions of Sylla at Orchomenus and Chæronea, though now so much extolled ?”

There was nothing absurd in the proposal. Everybody saw, that if Lucullus, who was at no great distance, had brought up his fleet, and blocked up the harbour, the war would have been at an end, and they would all have been delivered from infinite calamities. But whether it was that he preferred his fidelity, as Sylla's lieutenant, to his own interest and that of the public ; whether he abhorred Fimbria, as a villain whose ambition had lately led him to murder his general and his friend ; or whether by some overruling influence of fortune he reserved Mithridates for his own antagonist, he absolutely rejected the proposal. He suffered him to get out of the harbour, and to laugh at Fimbria's land forces.

After this he had the honour of beating the king's fleet twice. The first time was at Lectum, a promontory of Troas ; the second at Tenedos, where he saw Neoptolemus at anchor with a more considerable force. Upon this, Lucullus advanced before the rest of the ships, in a Rhodian galley of five banks of oars, commanded by Demagoras, a man very faithful to the Romans, and experienced in naval affairs. Neoptolemus met him with great fury, and ordered the master of his ship to strike against that of Lucullus. But Demagoras *fearing the weight of the admiral's galley and the shock of its brazen beak, thought it dangerous to meet him ahead.* He therefore tacked about, and received him astern, in which place he received no great damage, because the stroke was upon the lower parts of the ship, which were under water. In the meantime, the rest of his fleet coming up, Lucullus ordered his own ship to tack again, fell upon the enemy, and after many gallant actions, put them to flight, and pursued Neoptolemus for some time.

Thus done, he went to meet Sylla, who was going to cross the sea from the Chersonesus. Here he secured the passage, and helped to transport his army. When the peace was agreed upon,¹ Mithridates sailed into the Euxine sea, and Sylla laid a fine upon Asia of 20,000 talents. *Lucullus was commissioned to collect the tax, and to coin the money ;* and it was some consolation to the cities, amidst the severity of Sylla, that Lucullus acted not only with the utmost justice, but with all the lenity that so difficult and odious a charge would admit of.

As the Mityleneans had openly revolted, he wanted to bring them to acknowledge their fault, and pay a moderate fine for having joined Marius's party. But, led by their ill genius, they continued

¹ This peace was concluded in the year of Rome 669, eight years before the death of Sylla.

obstinate. Upon this he went against them with his fleet, beat them in a great battle, and shut them up within their walls. Some days after he had begun the siege, he had recourse to this stratagem. In open day he set sail towards Elea, but returned privately at night, and lay close near the city. The Mityleneans then sallying out in a bold and disorderly manner to plunder his camp which they thought he had abandoned, he fell upon them, took most of them prisoners, and killed 500 who stood upon their defence. Here he got 6,000 slaves, and an immense quantity of other spoil.

He had no hand in the various and unspeakable evils which Sylla and Marius brought upon Italy; for by the favour of Providence he was engaged in the affairs of Asia. Yet none of Sylla's friends had greater interest with him. Sylla, out of particular regard dedicated his Commentaries to him; and passing Pompey by, in his last will constituted him guardian to his son. This seems to have first occasioned those differences and that jealousy which subsisted between Pompey and Lucullus, both young men and full of ardour in the pursuit of glory.

A little after the death of Sylla, Lucullus was chosen consul along with Marcus Cotta, about Olympiad 176. At this time many proposed to renew the war with Mithridates, and Cotta himself said, "The fire was not extinguished, it only slept in embers." Lucullus, therefore, was much concerned at having the Cisalpine Gaul allotted as his province, which promised him no opportunity to distinguish himself. But the honour Pompey had acquired in Spain gave him most trouble; because that general's superior reputation, he clearly saw, after the Spanish war was ended, would entitle him to the command against Mithridates. Hence it was, that when Pompey applied for money, and informed the government, that if he was not supplied, he must leave Spain and Sertorius, and bring his forces back to Italy, Lucullus readily exerted himself to procure the supplies, and to prevent his returning upon any pretext whatever during his consulship. He knew that every measure at home would be under Pompey's direction, if he came with such an army. For, at this very time, *the tribune Cethegus, who had the lead, because he consulted nothing but the humour of the people*, was at enmity with Lucullus, on account of his detesting that tribune's life, polluted as it was with infamous amours, insolence, and every species of profligacy. Against this man he declared open war. Lucius Quintius, another tribune, wanted to annul the acts of Sylla, and to disorder the whole face of affairs, which was now tolerably composed. But Lucullus, by private representations and public remonstrances, drew him from his purpose, and restrained his ambition. Thus, in the most polite and salutary way imaginable, he destroyed the seeds of a very dangerous disease.

About this time news was brought of the death of Octavius, governor of Cilicia. There were many competitors for that province, and they all paid their court to Cethegus, as the person most likely to procure it for them. Lucullus set no great value

upon that government ; but, as it was near Cappadocia, he concluded, if he could obtain it, that the Romans would not think of employing any other general against Mithridates. For this reason he exerted all his art to secure the province to himself. At last he was necessitated, against the bent of his disposition, to give in to a measure which was deemed indirect and illiberal, but very conducive to his purpose.

There was a woman then in Rome named Præcia, famed for beauty and enchanting wit ; but in other respects no better than a common prostitute. By applying her interest with those who frequented her house and were fond of her company, to serve her friends in the administration and in other affairs, she added to her other accomplishments the reputation of being a useful friend and a woman of business. This exalted her not a little. But when she had captivated Cethegus, who was then in the height of his glory, and carried all before him in Rome, the whole power fell into her hands. Nothing was done without the favour of Cethegus, nor by Cethegus, without the consent of Præcia. To her Lucullus applied by presents and the most insinuating compliments ; nor could any thing have been more acceptable to a vain and pompous woman, than to see herself flattered and courted by such a man as Lucullus. The consequence was, that Cethegus immediately espoused his cause, and solicited for him the province of Cilicia. When he had gained this, he had no farther need either of Præcia or Cethegus. All came into his interest, and with one voice gave him the command in the Mithridatic war. He indeed could not but be considered as the fittest person for that charge, because Pompey was engaged with Sertorius, and Metellus had given up his pretensions on account of his great age ; and these were the only persons who could stand in competition for it with Lucullus. However, his colleague Cotta, by much application, prevailed upon the senate to send him with a fleet to guard the Propontis, and to protect Bithynia.

Lucullus, with a legion now levied in Italy, passed over into Asia, where he found the rest of the troops that were to compose his army. These had all been long entirely corrupted by luxury and avarice ; and that part of them called Fimbrians was more untractable than the rest, on account of their having been under no command. At the instigation of Fimbria they had killed Flaccus, who was consul and their general too, and had betrayed Fimbria himself to Sylla ; and they were still mutinous and lawless men, though in other respects brave, hardy, and experienced soldiers. Nevertheless Lucullus in a little time subdued the seditious spirit of these men, and corrected the faults of the rest : so that now they first found a real commander, whereas before they had been brought to serve by indulgence and every promise of pleasure.

The affairs of the enemy were in this posture. Mithridates, like a sophistical warrior, had formerly met the Romans in a vain and ostentatious manner, with forces that were showy and pompous indeed, but of little use. *From* *and* *disgraced* in his attempt, he

grew wiser, and therefore in this second war he provided troops that were capable of real service. He retrenched that mixed multitude of nations, and those bravadoes that were issued from his camp in a barbarous variety of language, together with the rich arms adorned with gold and precious stones, which he now considered rather as the spoils of the conqueror than as adding any vigour to the men that wore them. Instead of this, he armed them with swords in the Roman fashion, and with large and heavy shields; and his cavalry he provided with horses rather well-trained than gaily accoutred. His infantry consisted of 120,000, and his cavalry of 16,000, besides armed chariots to the number of a hundred. *His navy was not equipped, as before, with gilded pavilions, baths, and delicious apartments for the women,* but with all manner of weapons offensive and defensive, and money to pay the troops.

In this respectable form he invaded Bithynia, where the cities received him with pleasure; and not only that country, but all Asia returned to its former distempered inclinations, by reason of *the intolerable evils that the Roman usurers and lux-gatherers had brought upon them.* These Lucullus afterwards drove away, like so many harpies which robbed the poor inhabitants of their food. At present he was satisfied with reprimanding them, and bringing them to exercise their office with more moderation; by which means he kept the Asiatics from revolting, when their inclination lay almost universally that way.

While Lucullus was employed in these matters, Cotta, thinking he had found his opportunity, prepared to give Mithridates battle. And as he had accounts from many hands, that Lucullus was coming up, and was already encamped in Phrygia, he did every thing to expedite the engagement, in order to prevent Lucullus from having any share in the triumph, which he believed was now all his own. He was defeated, however, both by sea and land, with the loss of sixty ships and all their crews, as well as 4,000 land forces; after which he was shut up in Chalcedon, and had no resource except in the assistance of Lucullus. Lucullus was advised, notwithstanding, to take no notice of Cotta, but to march forward into the kingdom of Mithridates, which he would find in a defenceless state. On this occasion the soldiers were loudest in their complaints. They represented that Cotta had, by his rash counsels, not only ruined himself and his own men, but done them too great prejudice; since, had it not been for his error, they might have conquered without loss. But Lucullus, in a set speech upon this subject, told them, "*He had rather deliver one Roman out of the enemy's hand than take all the enemy had.*" And when Archelaus, who formerly had commanded the king's forces in Boeotia, but now was come over to the Romans and fought for them, asserted, "That if Lucullus would but once make his appearance in Pontus, all would immediately fall before him;" he said, "He would not act in a more cowardly manner than hunters, nor pass the wild beasts by, and go to their empty dens." He had no sooner uttered these

words, than he marched against Mithridates with 30,000 foot, and 2,500 horse.

When he got sight of the enemy, he was astonished at their numbers, and determined to avoid a battle and gain time. But Marius,¹ a Roman officer, whom Sertorius had sent to Mithridates out of Spain with some troops, advanced to meet Lucullus, and gave him the challenge. Lucullus accepted it, and put his army in order of battle. The signal was just ready to be given, when, without any visible alteration, there was a sudden explosion in the air, and a large luminous body was seen to fall between the two armies: its form was like that of a large tun, and its colour that of molten silver. Both sides were so affected with the phenomenon, that they parted without striking a blow. This prodigy is said to have happened in Phrygia at a place called Otryæ.

Lucullus, concluding that no human supplies could be sufficient to maintain so many myriads as Mithridates had, for any length of time, especially in presence of an enemy, ordered one of the prisoners to be brought before him. The first question he put to him was, how many there were in his mess, and the second, what provisions he had left in his tent. When he had this man's answer, he commanded him to withdraw; and then examined a second and a third in like manner. The next thing was to compare the quantity of provisions, which Mithridates had laid in, with the number of soldiers he had to support; by which he found that in three or four days they would be in want of bread-corn. This confirmed him in his design of gaining time; and he caused great plenty of provisions to be brought into his own camp, that in the midst of abundance he might watch the enemy's distress.

Notwithstanding this, Mithridates formed a design against the Cyziceniens, who were beaten in the late battle with Cotta, near Chalcedon, and had lost 3000 men and ten ships. To deceive Lucullus, he decamped soon after supper, one dark tempestuous night; and marched with so much expedition, that at break of day he got before the town, and posted himself upon mount Adrastia.² As soon as Lucullus perceived he was gone, he followed his steps: and without falling unawares upon the enemy in the obscurity of the night, as he might easily have done, he reached the place of his destination, and sat down at a village called Thracea, the most commodious situation imaginable for guarding the roads and cutting off the enemy's convoys.

He was now so sure of his aim that he concealed it no longer from his men; but when they had entrenched themselves, and returned from their labour, called them together, and told them with great triumph, "In a few days he would gain them a victory which should not cost one drop of blood."

¹ Apollon calls him Varius.

² So called from a temple in the city consecrated by Adrastus to the goddess

Demeter, who from thence had the name of Adrastia.

Mithridates had planted his troops in ten different posts about the city, and with his vessels blocked up the frith which parts it from the continent,¹ so that it was invested on all sides. The Cyziceniens were prepared to combat the greatest difficulties, and to suffer the last extremities in the Roman cause, but they knew not where Lucullus was, and were much concerned that they could get no account of him. Though his camp was visible enough, the enemy had the art to impose upon them. Pointing to the Romans who were posted on the heights, "Do you see that army?" said they: "those are the Armenians and Meles, whom Tigranes has sent as a reinforcement to Mithridates." Surrounded with such an immense number of enemies, as they thought, and having no hope of relief but from the arrival of Lucullus, they were in the utmost consternation.

When Demonax, whom Archelaus found means to send into the town,² brought them news that Lucullus was arrived, at first they could hardly believe it, imagining he came only with a feigned story, to encourage them to bear up in their present distress. However, the same moment a boy made his appearance, who had been a prisoner among the enemy, and had just made his escape. Upon their asking him where Lucullus was, he laughed, thinking them only in jest; but when he saw they were in earnest, he pointed with his finger to the Roman camp. This sufficiently revived their drooping spirits.

In the lake Dascylitis, near Cyzicus, there were vessels of a considerable size. Lucullus hauled up the largest of them, put it upon a carriage, and drew it down to the sea. Then he put on board it as many soldiers as it could contain, and ordered them to get into Cyzicus, which they effected in the night.

It seems too that Heaven, delighted with the valour of the Cyziceniens supported them with several remarkable signs. The feast of Proserpine was come, when they were to sacrifice a black heifer to her; and as they had no living animal of that kind, they made one of paste,³ and were approaching the altar with it. The victim, bred for that purpose, pastured with the rest of their cattle on the other side of the frith. On that very day she parted from the herd, swam alone to the town, and presented herself before the altar. The same goddess appeared to Aristogoras, the public secretary, in a dream, and said, "Go and tell your fellow-citizens to take courage, for I shall bring the African piper against the trumpeter of Pontus."

While the Cyziceniens were wondering at this oracular expression, in the morning a strong wind blew, and the sea was in the

¹ Strabo says, Cyzicus lies upon the Propontis, and is an island joined to the continent by two bridges; near which is a city of the same name, with two harbours capable of containing 200 vessels. STRABO. l. xii.

² By the assistance of bladders he swam into the town. FLORUS, l. iii.

³ The Pythagoreans, who thought it unlawful to kill any animal, seem to have been the first among the Greeks who offered the figures of animals in plate, myrrh, or some other composition. The poorer sort of Egyptians are said to have done the same from another principle.

utmost agitation. The king's machines erected against the walls, the wonderful work of Niconidus the Thessalian, by the noise and cracking first announced what was to come. Then a south wind incredibly violent arose; and in the short space of an hour broke all the engines to pieces and destroyed the wooden tower which was 100 cubits high. It is moreover related, that Minerva was seen by many at Ilium in their sleep, all covered with sweat and with part of her veil rent; and that she said, she was just come from assisting the people of Cyzicus. Nay, they showed at Ilium a pillar which had an inscription to that effect.

As long as Mithridates was deceived by his officers, and kept in ignorance of the famine that prevailed in the camp, he lamented his miscarriage in the siege. But when he came to be sensible of the extremity to which his soldiers were reduced, and that they were forced even to eat human flesh,¹ all his ambition and spirit of contention died away. He found Lucullus did not make war in a theatrical ostentatious manner, but aimed his blows at his very heart, and left nothing unattempted to deprive him of provisions. He therefore seized his opportunity while the Romans were attacking a certain fort, to send off almost all his cavalry and his beasts of burden, as well as the least useful part of his infantry, into Bithynia.

When Lucullus was apprised of their departure he retired during the night into his camp. Next morning there was a violent storm; nevertheless he began the pursuit with ten cohorts of foot, beside his cavalry. All the way he was greatly incommoded by the snow, and the cold was so piercing that several of his soldiers sunk under it, and were forced to stop. With the rest he overtook the enemy at the river Rhyndacus, and made such havoc among them, that the women of Apollonia came out to plunder the convoys and to strip the slain.

The slain, as may well be imagined, were very numerous, and Lucullus made 15,000 prisoners; besides which, he took 6000 horses and an infinite number of beasts of burden. And he made it his business to lead them all by the enemy's camp.

I cannot help wondering at Sallust's saying, that this was the first time that the Romans saw a camel.² How could he think that those who formerly under Scipio conquered Antiochus and lately defeated Archelaus at Orchomenus and Chæroneæ, should be unacquainted with that animal?

Mithridates now resolved upon a speedy flight; and to amuse

¹ There is something extremely improbable in this. It does not appear that Mithridates was so totally blocked up by Lucullus as to reduce him to this extremity; and even had that been the case, it would certainly have been more eligible to have risked a battle, than to have submitted to the alternative here mentioned. But wherefore eat human flesh when afterwards we are expressly

told they had beasts to send away? There is, to the best of our knowledge and belief, as little foundation in history for this practice, as there is in nature.

² Livy expressly tells us, there were camels in Antiochus's army. "Before the cavalry were placed the chariots armed with scythes, and camels of that species called dromedaries." Liv. lib. xxviii. c. 40

Lucullus with employment in another quarter, he sent his admiral Aristonicus to the Grecian sea. But just as he was on the point of sailing, he was betrayed to Lucullus, together with 10,000 pieces of gold, which he took with him to corrupt some part of the Roman forces. After this, Mithridates made his escape by sea, and left his generals to get off with the army in the best manner they could. Lucullus coming up with them at the river Granicus, killed full 20,000, and made a prodigious number of prisoners. It is said that in this campaign the enemy lost near 300,000 men, reckoning the servants of the army as well as soldiers.

Lucullus immediately entered Cyzicum, where he was received with every testimony of joy and respect. After which he went to the Hellespont, to collect ships to make up a fleet. On this occasion he touched at Troas, and slept there in the temple of Venus. The goddess, he dreamed, stood by him, and addressed him as follows :

*Do not thou then sleep, great monarch of the woods !
The fawns are rustling near thee. —*

Upon this he rose and calling his friends together while it was yet dark, related to them the vision. He had hardly made an end, when messengers arrived from Ilium, with an account that they had seen off the Grecian harbour,¹ thirteen of the king's large galleys steering towards Lemnos. He went in pursuit of them without losing a moment, took them, and killed their admiral Isidorus. When this was done, he made all the sail he could after some others which were before. These lay at anchor by the island; and as soon as the officers perceived his approach, they hauled the ships ashore, and fighting from the decks, galled the Romans exceedingly. The Romans had no chance to surround them, nor could they galleys, which were by the waves kept in continual motion, make any impression upon those of the enemy, which were on firm ground and stood immovable. At last, having with much difficulty found a landing place, he put some of his troops on shore, who taking them in the rear, killed a number of them, and forced the rest to cut their cables and stand out to sea. In the confusion the vessels dashed one against another, or fell upon the beaks of those of Lucullus. The destruction consequently was great. Marius, the general sent by Sertorius, was among the prisoners. He had but one eye ; and Lucullus, when he first set sail, had given his men a strict charge not to kill any person with one eye ; in order that he might be reserved for a death of greater torture and disgrace.

After this, he hastened to pursue Mithridates himself, whom he hoped to find in Bithynia blocked up by Voconius. He had sent this officer before with a fleet to Nicomedia, to prevent the king's escape. But Voconius had loitered in Samothrace, about getting

¹ Plutarch means the harbour where the Grecians landed when they were going to the siege of Troy.

himself initiated in the mysteries¹ and celebrating festivals. Mithridates in the meantime had got out, and was making great efforts to reach Pontus before Lucullus could come to stop him. But a violent tempest overtook him, by which many of his vessels were dashed to pieces and many sunk. The whole shore was covered with the wreck which the sea threw up for several days. As for the king himself, the ship in which he sailed was so large that the pilots could not make land with it amidst such a terrible agitation of the waves, and it was by this time ready to founder with the water it had taken in. He therefore got into a shallop belonging to some pirates, and trusting his life to their hands, beyond all hope, was brought safe to Heraclea in Pontus, after having passed through the most unspeakable dangers.

In this war Lucullus behaved to the senate of Rome with an honest pride, which had its success. They had decreed him 3,000 talents to enable him to fit out a fleet. But he acquainted them by letters, that he had no need of money, and boasted that, without so much expense and such mighty preparations, he would drive Mithridates out of the sea with the ships the allies would give him. *And he performed his promise by the assistance of a superior power. For the tempest, which ruined the Pontus, is said to have been raised by the resentment of Diana of Ephesus, for their plundering her temple and beating down her statue.*

Lucullus was now advised by many of his officers to let the war sleep awhile: but, without regarding their opinion, he penetrated into the kingdom of Pontus, by way of Bithynia and Galatia. At first he found provisions so scarce, that he was forced to have 30,000 Gauls follow him, with each a Medimnus of wheat upon his shoulders. But as he proceeded further in his march, and bore down all opposition, he came to such plenty, that an ox was sold for one drachma, and a slave for four. The rest of the booty was so little regarded, that some left it behind them, and others destroyed it: for, amidst such abundance, they could not find a purchaser. Having, in the excursions of their cavalry, laid waste all the country as far as Themiscyræ and about the river Thermadon, *they complained that Lucullus took all the towns by capitulation, instead of storm, and gave not up one to the soldiers for plunder.* "Now," said they, "you leave Amisus, a rich and flourishing city, which might be easily taken, if you would assault it vigorously; and drag us after Mithridates into the wastes of Tibarene and Chaldæa."

Lucullus, however, not thinking they would break out into that rage which afterwards appeared, neglected their remonstrances.

¹ The mysteries of the Cabiri. The worship of these gods was probably brought from Phœnicia: for CABIRI in the language of that country signifies powerful. They were revered as the most tremendous of superior beings: the

more so, because of the mysterious and awful solemnities of their worship. Some have pretended to give us an account of their names, though they were locked up in the profoundest secrecy.

He took more pains to excuse himself to those who blamed his slow progress, and his losing time in reducing towns and villages of little consequence, while Mithridates was again gathering power. "This is the very thing," said he, "that I want, and aim at in all my operations, that Mithridates may get strength and collect an army respectable enough to make him stand an engagement, and not continue to fly before us. Do not you see what vast and boundless deserts lie behind him? Is not Causacus, with all its immense train of mountains at hand, sufficient to hide him and numberless other kings who wish to avoid a battle? It is but a few days' journey from the country of the Cabiri¹ into Armenia, where Tigranes, king of kings, is seated, surrounded with that power which has wrested Asia from the Parthians, which carries Grecian colonies into Media, *subdues Syria and Palestine*, cuts off the Seleucidae, and carries their wives and daughters into captivity. This prince is nearly allied to Mithridates; he is his son-in-law. Do you think he will disregard him, when he comes as a suppliant, and not take up arms in his cause? Why will you then be in such haste to drive Mithridates out of his dominions, and risk the bringing Tigranes upon us, who has long wanted a pretence for it? And surely he cannot find a more specious one, than that of succouring a father-in-law, and a king reduced to such extreme necessity. What need is there then for us to ripen this affair, and to teach Mithridates what he may not know, who are the confederates he is to seek against us; or to drive him, against his inclination and his notions of honour, into the arms of Tigranes? Is it not better to give him time to make preparations and regain strength in his own territories, that we may have to meet the Colchians, the Tibarenians and Cappadocians, whom we have often beaten, rather than the unknown forces of the Medes and the Armenians?"

Agreeably to these sentiments, Lucullus spent a great deal of time before Amisus, proceeding very slowly in the siege. After the winter was passed, he left that charge to Murena, and marched against Mithridates, who was encamped on the plains of the Cabiri, with a resolution to wait for the Romans there. His army consisted of 40,000 foot and 4,000 horse, which he had lately collected; and in these he placed the greatest confidence. Nay, he passed the river Lycus, and gave the Romans the challenge to meet him in the field. In consequence of this, the cavalry engaged, and the Romans were put to the rout. Pomponius, a man of some dignity, was wounded and taken. Though much indisposed with his wounds, he was brought before Mithridates, who asked him, "Whether, if he saved his life, he would become his friend?" "On condition you will be reconciled to the Romans," said he.

¹ Hence it appears, as well as from a passage in Strabo, that there was a district on the borders of Phrygia called Cabiri. Indeed the worship of these gods

had prevailed in several parts of Asia, and these are supposed to have had homes, as said them at Pome under the title of *Dii Potes*

"I will ! but if not, I must remain your enemy." The king, struck with admiration of his patriotism, did him no injury.

Lucullus was apprehensive of farther danger on the plain, on account of the enemy's superiority in horse, and yet he was loath to take to the mountains, which were at a considerable distance, as well as woody and difficult of ascent. While he was in this perplexity, some Greeks happened to be taken, who had hid themselves in a cave. Artemidorus, the eldest of them, undertook to conduct him to a post where he might encamp in the utmost security, and where there stood a castle which commanded the plain of the Cabiri. Lucullus gave credit to his report, and began his march in the night, after he had caused a number of fires to be lighted in his old camp. Having got safely through the narrow passes, he gained the heights, and in the morning appeared above the enemy's heads, in a situation where he might fight with advantage, when he chose it, and might not be compelled to it, if he had a mind to sit still.

At present neither Lucullus nor Mithridates was inclined to risk a battle : but some of the king's soldiers happening to pursue a deer, a party of Romans went out to intercept them. This brought on a sharp skirmish, numbers continually coming up on each side. At length the king's troops had the advantage.

The Romans, beholding from the camp the flight of their fellow-soldiers, were greatly disturbed, and ran to Lucullus, to entreat him to lead them out ; and give the signal for battle. But he, willing to show them of how much importance, in all dangerous conflicts, the presence of an able general is, ordered them to stand still : and descending into the plain himself, seized the foremost of the fugitives, and commanded them to face about. They obeyed and the rest rallying with them, they easily put the enemy to flight, and pursued them to their entrenchments. *Lucullus, at his return, inflicted on the fugitives the usual punishment. He made them strip to their vests, take off their girdles, and then dig a trench, twelve feet long ; the rest of the troops all the while standing and looking on.*

In the army of Mithridates there was a Dardarian grandee named Olthacus. The Dardarians are some of those barbarous people who live near the lake Mæotis. Olthacus was a man fit for every warlike attempt that required strength and courage, and in counsel and contrivance inferior to none. Besides these accomplishments, he was affable, easy, and agreeable in the commerce of the world. He was always involved in some dispute, or jealousy at least of the other great men of his country, who, like him, aimed at the chief authority in it ; and to bring Mithridates into his interest, he undertook the daring enterprise of killing Lucullus. Mithridates commended his design, and publicly gave him some affronts, to afford him a pretence for resentment. Olthacus laid hold on it, and rode off to Lucullus, who received him with pleasure. For his reputation was well known in the camp ; and, upon trial, the Roman general found his presence of mind and his

address so extraordinary, that he took him to his table and his council-board

When the Dardarian thought he had found his opportunity, he ordered his servants to have his horse ready without the camp. It was now mid day, and the soldiers were sitting in the sun or otherwise reposing themselves, when he went to the general's pavilion; expecting that none would pretend to hinder the admission of a man who was intimate with Lucullus, and who said he had business of importance to communicate. And he had certainly entered, if sleep, which has been the ruin of many other generals, had not saved Lucullus. Menedemus, one of his chamberlains, was then in waiting, and he told Olthacus, "This was not a proper time to see Lucullus, because after long watching and fatigue, he was now taking some rest." Olthacus did not take this denial, but said, "I must enter, whether you will or not, for I have great and necessary business to lay before him." Menedemus, incensed at his insolence, answered, "Nothing is more necessary than the preservation of Lucullus," and thrust him back with both hands. Olthacus, fearing his design was discovered, withdrew privately from the camp, took horse, and returned to Mithridates without effecting anything. Thus the crisis in other matters, as well as in medicine, either saves or destroys.

After this, Sornathus was sent out with ten cohorts to escort a convoy. Mithridates detached against him one of his officers named Menander. An engagement ensued, and the barbarians were routed with great loss. Another time, Lucullus despatched Adrian with a considerable corps, to protect the party employed in collecting provisions and supplying his camp. Mithridates did not let him pass unnoticed, but sent Menemachus and Myron against them, with a strong body of cavalry and another of infantry. All these combatants, except two, the Romans put to the sword. Mithridates dissembled his loss, pretending it was small, and entirely owing to the misconduct of the commanding officers. But when Adrian passed by his camp in great pomp, with many waggons loaded with provisions and rich spoils in his train, the king's spirits began to droop, and the most distressing terror fell upon his army. He determined, therefore, to quit that post.

The nobility about the king began to send off their baggage with all the privacy they could, but would not suffer others to do the same. The soldiers finding themselves jostled and thrust back in the gateways, were so much provoked at that treatment, that they turned upon them, fell to plundering the baggage, and killed several of them. Dorylaus, one of the generals, lost his life for nothing but a purple robe which he had on. Hermæus, a priest, was trodden under foot at the gate. Mithridates himself, without any attendant or groom to assist him, got out of the camp amidst the crowd. Of all his royal stud there was not one horse left him; but at last Ptolemy the eunuch, seeing him carried along with the torrent, and happening to be on horseback, dismounted

and gave him his. The Romans pressed hard upon him, and indeed came up in time enough to have taken him. He was in fact almost in their hands; but their avarice saved him. The prey, which had been pursued through numberless conflicts and dangers, escaped, and the victorious Lucullus was robbed of the reward of his toils. The horse which the king rode was almost overtaken, when a mule loaded with gold came between him and his pursuers, either by accident or by the king's contrivance. The soldiers immediately began to rifle the load, and came to blows about the contents; which gave Mithridates time to get off. Nor was this the only disadvantage Lucullus experienced from their avarice. Callistratus, the king's secretary, was taken, and the Roman general had ordered him to be brought before him; but those who had the charge of it, perceiving he had 500 crowns in his girdle, despatched him for the money. Yet to such men as these he gave up the plunder of the enemy's camp.

After this he took Cabira, and many other places of strength, in which he found much treasure. He likewise found in their prisons many Greeks, and several of the king's own relations, confined; and, as they had long thought themselves in the most desperate circumstances, the liberty which they gained by the favour of Lucullus, appeared to them not so much a deliverance, as a resurrection and new life. One of the king's sisters, named Nyssa, very happily for her, was of the number. The other sisters and wives of Mithridates, who seemed placed more remote from danger, and at a distance from war, all perished miserably: he sent the eunuch Bacchides to Phernacia, with orders to see them put to death.

Among the rest were two of his sisters, Roxana and Statira, who were about the age of forty, and still virgins; and two of his wives, both Ionians, Bernice of Chios, and Monime of Miletus. *The latter was much celebrated among the Greeks. Though the king had tried every expedient to bring her to listen to a lawless passion, and made her a present of 15,000 crowns at one time, she rejected all his solicitations till he agreed to marriage, sent her a diadem, and declared her queen. Before the last sad message, she had passed her time very unhappily, and looked with grief and indignation on that beauty, which instead of a husband had procured her an imperious master, and instead of the domestic comforts of marriage, a guard of barbarians. Banished far from Greece, she had lost the real blessings of life, and where she hoped for happiness, found nothing but a dream.*

When Bacchides came and informed those princesses they must die, but that they were at liberty to choose the death most easy and agreeable to them, Monime snatched the diadem from her head, and applied it to her neck, that it might do the fatal office. But it broke, and the princess said, "O cursed band! wouldst thou not at least serve me on this occasion?" Then spitting upon it, she threw it from her, and stretched out her neck to Bacchides.

Bernice took poison; and, as her mother, who was present, begged a share of it, she granted her request. They both drank of

it ; and its force operated sufficiently upon the weaker body : but Bernice not having taken a proper quantity, was long a-dying. Bacchides therefore strangled her. Roxana, one of the unmarried sisters, after having vented the most bitter imprecations and reproaches against Mithridates, took poison. *Statira, however, died without one unkind or ungenerous word. She rather commended her brother, when he must have his anxieties about his own life, for not forgetting them, but providing that they might die free and undishonoured.* These events were very disagreeable to the native goodness and humanity of Lucullus.

He continued his pursuit of Mithridates as far as Talaurea ; where having learned that he was fled four days before into Armenia to Tigranes, he turned back again. He subdued, however, the Chaldeans and Tibarenians, and reduced the less Armenia, with the towns and castles. Then he sent Appius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates ; and in the meantime returned to Amisus, which his troops were still besieging. The length of the siege was owing to Callimachus who commanded in the town, and was an able engineer, skilled in every art of attack and defence. By this he gave the Romans much trouble, for which he suffered afterwards. Lucullus availed himself of a stratagem against which he had not guarded. He made a sudden assault at the time when Callimachus used to draw off his men for refreshment. Thus he made himself master of some part of the wall ; upon which, Callimachus either envying the Romans the plunder of the place, or with a view to facilitate his own escape, set fire to the town, and quitted it. For no one paid any attention to those who fled by sea. The flames spread with great rapidity around the walls, and the soldiers prepared themselves to pillage the houses. Lucullus, in commiseration of a fine city thus sinking into ruin, endeavoured to assist it from without, and ordered his troops to extinguish the fire. But they paid no regard to him : they went on collecting the spoils, and clashing their arms, till he was forced to give up the plunder to them, in hopes of saving the city from the flames. It happened, however, quite otherwise. In rummaging every corner, with torches in their hands, they set fire to many of the houses themselves. So that when Lucullus entered the town next morning, he said to his friends, with tears in his eyes, "I have often admired the good fortune of Sylla, but never so much as I do this day. He desired to save Athens, and succeeded. I wish to imitate him on this occasion ; but instead of that the gods have classed me with Nummius."

Nevertheless he endeavoured to restore the place, as far as its unhappy circumstances would permit. A shower, which providentially fell about the time it was taken, extinguished the fire, and saved many of the buildings ; and, during his stay, he rebuilt most of those that were destroyed. Such of the inhabitants as had fled he received with pleasure, and added to them a draught of other

Greeks who were willing to settle there. At the same time, he gave them a territory of 120 furlongs.

The city was a colony of Athenians, planted here at a time when their power was at the height; and they were masters of the sea. Hence it was, that those who fled from the tyranny of Aristion, retired to Amisus, and were admitted to the privilege of citizens; fortunately enough gaining abroad what they lost at home. The remainder of them Lucullus now clothed in an honourable manner, gave each 200 drachmas, and sent them back into their own country. Tyrannio, the grammarian, was of the number. Murena begged him of Lucullus, and afterwards enfranchised him; in which he acted ungenerously by his superior officers present. Lucullus would not have been willing, that a man so honoured for his learning, should be first considered as a slave, and then set free. The real liberty he was born to, must be taken away, before he could have this seeming freedom. But this was not the only instance in which Murena acted with less generosity than became an officer of his rank.

Lucullus then turned towards the cities of Asia, that he might bestow the time which was not employed in war, on the promotion of law and justice. These had long lost their influence in that province, which was overwhelmed with unspeakable misfortunes. *It was desolated and enslaved by the farmers of the revenue and by usurers. The poor inhabitants were forced to sell the most beautiful of their sons and daughters, the ornaments and offerings in their temples, their paintings, and the statues of their gods. The last resource was to serve their creditors as slaves.* Their sufferings, prior to this, were more cruel and insupportable: prisons, racks, tortures, exposures to the burning sun in summer, and in winter to the extremity of cold, amidst ice or mire; insomuch that servitude seemed a happy deliverance and a scene of peace. Lucullus finding the cities in such dreadful distress, soon rescued the oppressed from all their burdens.

In the first place he ordered the creditors not to take above one in the hundred for a month's interest;¹ in the next place he abolished all interest that exceeded the principal; the third and most important regulation was, that the creditor should not take above a fourth part of the debtor's income. And if any one took interest upon interest he was to lose all. By these means, in less than four years, all the debts were paid, and the estates restored free to the proprietors. The public fine which Sylla had laid upon Asia, was 20,000 talents. It had been paid twice; and yet *the merciless collectors, by usual usury, now brought it to 120,000 talents.*

These men, pretending they had been unjustly treated, raised a clamour in Rome against Lucullus, and hired a number of popular orators to speak against him. They had, indeed, a considerable interest, because many persons who had a share in the adminis-

¹ This was the legal interest among the Romans. Whence we may learn the

comparative scarcity of money in those times.

tration, were their debtors. Lucullus, on the other hand, was beloved not only by the nations which had experienced his good offices; the hearts of the other provinces were his, and they longed for a governor who had made such numbers happy.

Appius Clodius, who was sent ambassador to Tigranes by Lucullus, and who was his wife's brother, at first fell into the hands of guides that were subjects to Mithridates. These men made him take an unnecessary circuit of many days' journey in the upper countries; but at last an enfranchised servant of his, a Syrian by nation, discovered to him the imposition, and showed him the right road. He then bade adieu to his barbarian guides, and in a few days passed the Euphrates, and reached Antioch of Daphne.¹

There he had orders to wait for Tigranes who was then employed in reducing some cities of Phœnicia; and he found means to bring over to the Roman interest many princes who submitted to the Armenians out of pure necessity. Among these was Zartienus, king of Gordyene. A number of the cities too, which Tigranes had conquered, privately sent deputies to Clodius: and he promised them all the succour Lucullus could give him, but desired they would make no immediate resistance. The Armenian government was, indeed, an insupportable burden to the Greeks; particularly *the king's pride, through a long course of prosperity, was become so enormous that he thought whatever is great and admirable in the eyes of the world was not only in his power, but even made for him.* For though his prospects at first were small and contemptible, he had subdued many nations, and humbled the Parthian power more than any prince before him. He had colonised Mesopotamia with Greeks, whom he draughted in great numbers out of Cilicia and Cappadocia. He had drawn the *scenite*² Arabians from their wandering way of life, and placed them nearer to Armenia, that he might avail himself of their mercantile abilities. *He had many kings at his court in the capacity of servants, and four in particular as mace-bearers or footmen, who, whenever he rode on horseback, ran before him in short jerkins; and, when he sat to give audience, stood by with their hands clasped together,* which last circumstance seems a mark of the lowest slavery, a token that they had not only resigned their liberty, but that they were prepared rather to suffer than to act.

Appius, not in the least disconcerted at all this pomp, plainly set forth his commission, at his first audience, "that he was come to demand Mithridates, whom Lucullus claimed for his triumph; otherwise he must declare war against Tigranes." Whatever efforts the prince made to receive the message with an easy count-

¹ Among several cities of that name this was the principal. It was called, however, by way of distinction, the Antioch of Daphne. Daphne was a beautiful village, about forty furlongs from it, consecrated to the nymph of that name, and adorned with groves of

large extent, several of them probably of laurel; in the midst of which stood the temple of Apollo and Diana. The grove and temple were a sanctuary.

² Probably so called from their living in tents.

enance and a kind of smile, it was visible to all that he was affected with the young man's bold address. *This was, indeed, the first free speech that he had heard for five-and-twenty years; for so long he had been a king or rather a tyrant.* However, the answer he gave Appius was, "That he would not deliver up Mithridates; and if the Romans began the war, he was able to defend himself." He was displeased with Lucullus for giving him, in his letter, barely the title of king, and not that of king of kings; and therefore in his answer he would not address him as *Imperator*. This did not hinder him from sending magnificent presents to Appius; and, when he found he did not accept them, he sent more. At last, Appius, that he might not seem to reject them out of any particular pique, took a cup, and sent back all the rest. Then he returned with the utmost expedition to his general.

Before this Tigranes had not deigned to admit Mithridates into his presence, nor to speak to a prince who was so nearly allied to him, and who had lately lost so great a kingdom. He had sent him in a contemptuous manner to remote marshes and a sickly air, where he was kept like a prisoner. But now he called him to court with great marks of honour and regard. In a private conference they exculpated themselves at the expense of their friends. Metrodorus the Scepsian was of the number; an able speaker, and a man of extensive erudition, who had been in such high favour, that he was styled the king's father. It seems, when he went ambassador from Mithridates to the Armenian court, to beg assistance against the Romans, Tigranes said, "What would you, Metrodorus, advise me to in this case?" Whether it was that he had the interest of Tigranes in view, or whether he wanted to see Mithridates absolutely ruined, he answered, "As an ambassador, I should exhort you to it; but, as your counsellor I should advise you against it." Tigranes discovered this to Mithridates, not imagining he would resent it in the manner he did. The unfortunate prince immediately put Metrodorus to death; and Tigranes greatly repented the step he had taken, though he was not absolutely the cause of that minister's death, but only added stings to the hatred Mithridates had long entertained for him. This appeared when his private memorandums were taken, in which Metrodorus was found among those marked out for the axe. Tigranes buried him honourably, and spared no expense in his funeral, though he had been the cause of his death.

Amphicrates, the orator, likewise died at that court, if we may be allowed to record his name for the sake of Athens. He is said to have been banished his country, and to have retired to Seleucia upon the Tigris, where the inhabitants desired him to open a school of rhetoric; but he answered in the most contemptuous manner, and with all the vanity of a sophist, "That a plate could not contain a dolphin." From thence he went to the court of Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates, and wife of Tigranes, where he soon made himself so obnoxious, that he was forbidden

all intercourse with the Greeks ; upon which he starved himself to death. Cleopatra bestowed upon him too a magnificent funeral, and his tomb is near a place called Sapha.

Lucullus, having established peace and good laws in Asia, did not neglect what might be conducive to elegance and pleasure ; but, during his stay at Ephesus, entertained the Grecian cities with shows, triumphal feasts, and trials of skill between wrestlers and gladiators. The cities, in return, instituted a feast to his honour, which they called *Lucullia* ; and the real affection that inspired them with the thought was more agreeable than the honour itself.

When Appius was returned, and had acquainted him that it was necessary to go to war with Tigranes, he went back to Pontus, and put himself at the head of his troops. His first operation was to lay siege to Sinope, or rather to a corps of Cilicians who had thrown themselves into the town on the part of Mithridates. These, upon the approach of Lucullus, put a great number of the inhabitants to the sword, and after setting fire to the place, endeavoured to escape in the night. But Lucullus discovering their intention, entered the town, and having killed 8,000 of them who were left behind, restored their effects to the old inhabitants, and exerted himself greatly in saving the city from the flames. His particular inducement was the following dream. He dreamed that a person stood by him and said, "Go forward, Lucullus ; for Autolycus is coming to meet you." When he awaked, he could form no conjecture about the signification of the dream. However, he took the city the same day, and in pursuing the Cilicians to their ships, he saw a statue lying on the shore, which they had not been able to get on board. The work was one of the masterpieces of Sthenis ; and he was told that it was the statue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinope. This Autolycus is said to have been the son of Deimachus, and one of those Thessalians who assisted Hercules in the war against the Amazons.¹ In his voyage back along with Demoleon and Phlogis his ship struck on a rock of the Chersonesus, called Pedalion, and he lost it. He and his friends, however, saved their lives and their arms, and went to Sinope, which they took from the Syrians. The Syrians who then held it, we are told, were so called, because they were the descendants of Syrus the son of Apollo and Sinope the daughter of Asopus. When Lucullus heard this, he recollected the observation of Sylla in his Commentaries, "*That nothing more deserves our belief and attention than what is signified to us in dreams.*"

After news was brought that Mithridates and Tigranes were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia with all their forces, in order to sieze Asia before him, he could not help thinking it strange that the Armenian did not make use of Mithridates when in his glory, nor join the armies of Pontus while they were in their full strength ; but suffered them to be broken and destroyed ; and

¹ Strabo tells us, Autolycus was one of the Argonauts, who, after his voyage to Colchis, settled at Sinope, and had

divine honours paid him after his death
STRAB. l. xli.

now at last with cold hopes of success began the war, or rather threw himself down headlong with those who could stand no longer.

Amidst these transactions, Machares, the son of Mithridates, who was master of the Bosphorus, sent Lucullus a coronet of gold of 1,000 crowns' value, and begged to be numbered among the friends and allies of Rome. Lucullus, now concluding that the first war was finished, left Sornatius with a corps of 6,000 men, to settle the affairs of that province; and with 12,000 foot and less than 3,000 horse, marched to meet another war. It seemed amazing temerity to go with a handful of men against so many warlike nations, so many myriads of cavalry, and such a vast country, intersected with deep rivers, and barricaded with mountains for ever covered with snow. Of course his soldiers, who were not otherwise under the best discipline, now followed with great reluctance, and were ready to mutiny. On the other hand, *the popular orators clamoured against him in Rome*, representing that he levied war after war; not that the public utility required it, but that he might always keep the command, and continue in arms, and that he might accumulate riches at the risk of the commonwealth. These at last succeeded in their design, which was to recall Lucullus.

At present he reached the Euphrates by long marches. He found it swollen and overflowing by reason of the late rains, and was apprehensive he should find much delay and difficulty in collecting boats and making a bridge of them. But in the evening the flood began to subside, and lessened in such a manner in the night, that next morning the river appeared much within the channel. The people of the country seeing little islands in its bed, which had seldom been visible, and the stream breaking gently about them, considered Lucullus as something more than mortal. For they saw the great river put on a mild and obliging air to him, and afford him a quick and easy passage.

He availed himself of the opportunity, and passed it with his army. An auspicious omen appeared immediately after. A number of heifers, sacred to the Persian Diana, the goddess whom the inhabitants of those parts particularly worship, pastured on the other side. *These heifers are used only in the way of sacrifice: at other times they range at large, marked with the figure of a torch, as a token of their designation:* and it was difficult to take them when they are wanted. But now the army had no sooner crossed the river, than one of them went and stood by a rock, which is deemed sacred to the goddess, and hanging down her head in the manner of those that are bound, offered herself to Lucullus as a victim. He sacrificed also a bull to the Euphrates, on account of his safe passage.

He stayed there that whole day to refresh his army. The next day he marched through Sophene, without doing the least injury to those who submitted and received his troops in a proper manner. Nay, when his men wanted to stop and take a fort that was sup-

posed to be full of treasure, he pointed to mount Taurus which appeared at a distance, and said, "Yonder is the fort you are to take, as for these things, they will of course belong to the conqueror" Then pushing his march, he crossed the Tigris and entered Armenia

As Tigranes ordered the first man who brought him an account of the enemy's arrival, to lose his head for his reward, no one afterwards presumed to mention it He remained in ignorance, though the hostile fire already touched him, and with pleasure heard his flatterers say, "Lucullus would be a great general, if he waited for Tigranes at Ephesus, and did not quit Asia at the sight of his vast armies" Thus it is not every man that can bear much wine, nor can an ordinary mind bear great prosperity without staggering The first of his friends who ventured to tell him the truth, was Mithrobarzanes, and he was but ill rewarded for the liberty he had taken He was sent against Lucullus with 3,000 horse and a more respectable body of foot, with orders to take the Roman general alive, but to tread the rest under his feet

Part of the Roman forces were pitching their tents, and the rest were upon the march, when their scouts brought intelligence that the barbarians were at hand He had therefore his apprehensions, that if they attacked him before his troops were all assembled and formed, they might be put in disorder The measure he took was to stay and intrench himself meantime he sent his lieutenant Sextilius with 1,600 horse, and not many more infantry, including both the light and the heavy armed, with orders when he approached the enemy to stop and amuse them, till he should be informed that the entrenchments were finished

Sextilius was willing to obey his orders, but Mithrobarzanes came upon him so boldly, that he was forced to fight Mithrobarzanes, behaved with great bravery, but fell in the action Then his troops took to flight, and were most of them cut in pieces

After this, Tigranes left Tigranocerta, the great city which he had built, and retired to Mount Taurus, where he intended to collect all his forces But Lucullus not giving him much time for preparation, sent Murena to harass and cut off the parties on one side, as fast as they came up, on the other side, Sextilius advanced against a large corps of Arabians, which was going to join the king, Sextilius came upon the Arabians as they were encamping, and killed the greatest part of them Murena, following the steps of Tigranes, took his opportunity to attack him, as he was leading a great army along a rugged and narrow defile The king himself fled, abandoning all his baggage Many of the Armenians were put to the sword and greater numbers made prisoners

Lucullus, after this success, marched against Tigranocerta, and invested it with his army There were in that city many Greeks who had been transplanted out of Cilicia, and many barbarians whose fortunes had been no better than that of the Greeks,

Adiabeniens, Assyrians, Gordyeniens, and Cappadocians, whose cities Tigranes had demolished, and then removed the inhabitants, and compelled them to settle in that he had built. The place was full of treasure and rich ornaments; every private person as well as grandee, to make their court to the king, striving which should contribute most to its embellishment. For this reason Lucullus carried on the siege with great vigour, in the opinion that Tigranes would, contrary to his better judgment, be provoked to give him battle. And he was not mistaken. Mithridates, by messengers and letters, dissuaded the king much from hazarding a battle, and advised him to cut off the Roman convoys with his cavalry. Taxiles too, who came on the part of Mithridates to co-operate with Tigranes, entreated him to *avoid meeting the Roman arms which he assured him were invincible.*

At first the king heard him with patience. But when the Armenians and Gordyeniens arrived with all their forces; when the kings of the Medes and Adiabeniens had brought in their armies: when numbers of Arabians came from the coasts of the Babylonian sea (the Persian Gulf), Albanians from the Caspian, and Iberians from the neighbourhood of the Albanians; besides a considerable body gained by presents and persuasion, from those nations about the Araxes that live without regal government; then nothing was expressed at the king's table or council-board, but sanguine hopes and barbarian menaces. Taxiles was in danger of his life for attempting to oppose the resolution to give battle, and Mithridates himself was accused of envying the glorious success that would attend his son-in-law.

Tigranes, therefore, would not wait for him, lest he should share with him the honour of the victory; but advanced immediately with all his friend's forces and is said to have expressed to his friend some uneasiness, "That he should have to do only with Lucullus, and not try his strength at once with all the generals of Rome." Indeed, these boasts of the king do not appear entirely frantic and destitute of reason, while he was surveying so many nations and princes under his standard, such astonishing numbers of heavy armed infantry, and so many myriads of cavalry. He had 26,000 archers and slingers, and 55,000 horse, of which 17,000 were clad in steel, according to the account Lucullus sent to the senate. His infantry, divided into companies and battalions, consisted of 150,000 men; and there were 35,000 pioneers and other labourers to make good the roads, to prepare bridges, to cleanse the course of rivers, to provide wood, and to answer all the occasions of the army. These were drawn up behind, to give it a greater appearance of strength and numbers.

When he had passed mount Taurus, and spread his troops upon the plain, he could see the Roman army besieging Tigranocerta. The mixed multitude of barbarians in the city likewise saw him, and in a menacing manner pointed to their king's armies from the walls.

Lucullus, before the battle, held a council of war. Some advised

him to quit the siege, and meet Tigranes with all his forces ; others were of opinion, that he should continue the siege, and not leave so many enemies behind him. He told them that neither, separately, gave good counsel, but both together did. He therefore divided his forces, and left Murena before the place with 6,000 men, while he, with the rest of his infantry, consisting of 24 cohorts, which contained not more than 10,000 combatants, with all his cavalry, and about 1,000 slingers and archers, marched against Tigranes.

He encamped on a large plain with a river before him ; where his army appearing no more than a handful, afforded much matter of mirth to the flatterers of the king. Some ridiculed the diminutive appearance ; others, by way of jest, cast lots for the spoil. And there was not one of the generals and princes, who did not come and desire to be employed alone upon that service, while Tigranes needed only to sit still and look on. The king, too, thinking he must show himself facetious on the occasion, made use of that celebrated expression, "That if they came as ambassadors, they were too many of them ; if as soldiers, too few." Thus they passed the first day in raillery.

Next morning at break of day Lucullus drew out his army. The camp of the barbarians was on the east side of the river. But the river, where it is most fordable, makes a bend to the west. As Lucullus marched hastily down to that quarter, Tigranes thought he was retreating. Upon this, he called to Taxiles, and said with a scornful smile, "Seest thou not these invincible Roman legions taking to flight ?" Taxiles answered, "I wish from my soul, my lord, that your good genius may work a miracle in your favour ; but *these legions do not use their best accoutrements in a mere march. They do not wear their polished shields, nor take their bright helmets out of their cases, as you see they have now done.* All this splendid appearance indicates their intention to fight, and to advance against their enemies as fast as possible."

While Taxiles was yet speaking, they saw the eagle of the foremost legion make a motion to the right by order of Lucullus, and the cohorts proceed in good order to pass the river.

Then Tigranes with much difficulty awaked from his intoxication, and exclaimed two or three times, "Are these men coming against us ?" After this, he drew out his forces in a hasty and disorderly manner ; taking himself the command of the main body, and giving the left wing to the king of the Adiabeniensians, and the right to the king of the Medes. Before this right wing were placed most of the cavalry that were armed in steel.

As Lucullus was going to pass the river, some of his officers admonished him to beware of that day, which had been an inauspicious, or (as they called it) a *black one* to the Romans. For on that day Cæpio's army was defeated by the Cimbri. Lucullus returned that memorable answer, "I will make this day an auspicious one for Rome." It was the sixth of October.

Having thus spoken, and withal exhorted his men to exert them

selves, he advanced at the head of them against the enemy. He was armed with a breastplate of steel formed in scales, which cast a surprising lustre; and the robe he wore over it was adorned with fringe. He drew his sword immediately, to show his troops the necessity of coming hand to hand with an enemy who were accustomed to fight at a distance; and by the vigour of their charge not to leave them room to exercise their missile weapons. Observing that the enemy's heavy-armed cavalry, upon which they placed their chief dependence, was covered by a hill that was plain and even at the top, and which, with an extent of only four furlongs, was not very difficult to ascend, he despatched his Thracian and Gaulish horse, with orders to take them in flank, and to strike at nothing but the shafts of their pikes. Their whole strength, indeed, consists in the pike, and they have no other weapon, either offensive or defensive, that they can use, by reason of *their heavy and unwieldy armour, in which they are, as it were, immersed.*

Meanwhile he began to climb the hill with two companies of infantry, and the soldiers followed him with great readiness, when they saw him, encumbered as he was with his armour, the first to labour on foot up the ascent. When he had reached the summit, he stood on the most conspicuous part of it, and cried out, "The victory is ours, my fellow soldiers, the victory is ours!" At the same time he advanced against the heavy armed cavalry, and ordered his men not to make any use of their javelins, but to come to close action, and to aim their blows at their enemies' legs and thighs, in which parts alone they were not armed. There was no need, however, to put this in execution; for, instead of standing to receive the Romans, they set up a cry of fear, and most despicably fled without striking a stroke. In their flight, they and their horses, heavy with armour, ran back upon their own infantry, and put them in confusion: insomuch that *all those myriads were routed, without standing to receive one wound, or spilling one drop of blood.* Multitudes, however, were slain in their flight, or rather in their attempt to fly; their ranks being so thick and deep that they entangled and impeded each other.

Tigranes rode off one of the first, with a few attendants; and seeing his son taking his share in his misfortune, he took the diadem from his head, gave it him with tears, and desired him to save himself in the best manner he could by taking some other road. The young prince did not venture to wear it, but put it in the hands of one of his most faithful servants, who happened afterwards to be taken and brought to Lucullus: by this means the royal diadem of Tigranes added to the honours of the spoil. It is said that of the foot there fell above 100,000, and of the horse very few escaped; whereas the Romans had but five killed, and 100 wounded. Antiochus the philosopher,¹ in his Treatise concerning the gods, speaking of this action, says, the sun never beheld such

¹ Antiochus of Esecion. Cicero was his disciple.

another. Strabo,¹ another philosopher, in his historical Commentaries, informs us, that the Romans were ashamed, and ridiculed each other, for having employed weapons against such vile slaves. And Livy tells us, the Romans, with such inferior numbers, never engaged such a multitude as this. The victors did not, indeed, make up the twentieth part of the vanquished. The most able and experienced commanders among the Romans paid the highest compliments to the generalship of Lucullus, principally, because he had defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world by methods entirely different: the one by an expeditious and the other by a slow process. He ruined Mithridates, when in the height of his power, by protracting the war, and Tigranes by the celerity of his movements. *Indeed, among all the generals in the world, there have been very few instances of any one's availing himself of delay for execution, or of expedition for security.*

Hence it was, that Mithridates made no haste to come to action, or to join Tigranes; imagining that Lucullus would proceed with his usual caution and slowness. But as soon as he met a few Armenians on the road, with the greatest marks of consternation upon them, he formed some conjecture of what had happened; and when many more came up naked and wounded, he was too well assured of the loss, and inquired for Tigranes. Though he found him in the most destitute and deplorable condition, he did not offer him the least insult. Instead of that, he dismounted, and bewailed with him their common misfortunes; gave him his own royal equipage, and held up to him a prospect of better success. They began to levy other forces.

In Tigranocerta the Greeks had mutinied against the barbarians, and wanted to deliver up the city to Lucullus. Accordingly he gave the assault, and took it. After he had secured the royal treasures, he gave up the plunder of the town to his soldiers, and they found there, besides other rich booty, 8,000 talents in coined money. Lucullus added 800 drachmas to each man's share.

Being informed that there were found in the town a number of such artists as are requisite in theatrical exhibitions, whom Tigranes had collected from all parts, for opening the theatre he had built, he made use of them in the games and other public diversions in honour of his victory.

He sent back the Greeks to their own countries, and furnished them with necessaries for that purpose. He likewise permitted the barbarians who had been compelled to settle there, to return to their respective abodes. Thus it happened that, by the dispersion of the people of one city, many cities recovered their former inhabitants. For which reason Lucullus was revered by them as a patron and founder. *He succeeded also in his other undertakings agreeably to his merit; being more desirous of the praise of justice and humanity, than of that which arises from military achievements.* For in those the army claims no small part, and

¹ Strabo, the geographer and historian, was also a philosopher of the stoic form.

fortune a greater ; whereas the other are proofs of a gentle disposition and subdued mind, and by them Lucullus brought the barbarians to submit without the sword. The kings of the Arabs came over to him, and put their possessions in his power ; the whole nation of Sophane followed their example ; and the Gordyeniens were so well inclined to serve him, that they were willing to quit their habitations and follow him with their wives and children. The cause was this :

Zarbienus, king of Gordyene, unable to support the tyranny of Tigranes, applied privately through Appius to Lucullus, and desired to be admitted as an ally. This application being discovered, he was put to death with his wife and children, before the Romans entered Armenia. Lucullus, however, did not forget it, but, as he passed through Gordyene, *took care that Zarbienus should have a magnificent funeral, and adorned the pile with gold stuffs and royal vestments found among the spoils of Tigranes. The Roman general himself set fire to it, and, together with the friends and relations of the deceased, offered the accustomed libations, declaring him his friend, and an ally to the Roman people.* He caused a monument to be erected to his memory at a considerable expense : for there was found in the treasury of that prince a great quantity of gold and silver ; there were found also in his storehouses three millions of medimni of wheat. This was a sufficient provision for his soldiers ; and *Lucullus was much admired for making the war maintain itself, and carrying it on without taking one drachma out of the public treasury.*

About this time there came an embassy from the king of Parthia to solicit his friendship and alliance. Lucullus received the proposal with pleasure, and sent ambassadors in his turn ; who, when they were at that prince's court, discovered that he was unresolved what part to act, and that he was privately treating with Tigranes for Mesopotamia, as a reward for the succours with which he should furnish him. As soon as Lucullus was sensible of this, he determined to let Tigranes and Mithridates alone, as adversaries already tired out, and to try his strength with the Parthian, by entering his territories. He thought it would be glorious, if in one expedition, during the tide of good fortune, like an able wrestler he would throw three princes successively, and traverse the dominions of three of the most powerful kings under the sun, perpetually victorious.

For this reason he sent orders to Sornatius and his other officers in Pontus to bring their forces to him, as he intended to begin his march for Parthia from Gordyene. These officers had already found their soldiers refractory and obstinate, but now they saw them absolutely mutinous, and not to be wrought upon by any method of persuasion or of force. On the contrary, they loudly declared they would not even stay there, but would go and leave Pontus itself unguarded. When an account of this behaviour was brought to Lucullus, *it corrupted the troops he had with him : and they were very ready to receive these impressions, loaded as they were*

with wealth, enervated with luxury, and panting after repose. Upon hearing, therefore, of the bold terms in which the others had expressed themselves, they said they acted like men, and set an example worthy of imitation : "And surely," continued they, "our services entitle us to a discharge, that we may return to our own country, and enjoy ourselves in security and quiet."

These speeches, and worse than these, coming to the ears of Lucullus, he gave up all thoughts of his Parthian expedition, and marched once more against Tigranes. It was now the height of summer, and yet when he had gained the summit of mount Taurus, he saw with regret the corn only green ; so backward are the seasons in those parts, by reason of the cold that prevails there.¹ He descended, however, into the plain, and beat the Armenians who ventured to face him in two or three skirmishes. Then he plundered the villages at pleasure, and, by taking the convoys designed for Tigranes, brought that want upon the enemy, which he had dreaded himself.

He omitted no measure which might bring them to a decisive battle : he drew a line of circumvallation about their camp ; he laid waste their country before their eyes ; but they had been too often defeated, to think of risking an engagement. He therefore marched against Artaxata, the capital of Tigranes, where he had left his wives and children ; concluding he would not suffer it to be taken, without attempting its relief.

It is said that Hannibal, the Carthaginian, after Antiochus was subdued by the Romans, addressed himself to Artaxas, king of Armenia. While he was at that prince's court, besides instructing him in other important matters, he pointed out to him a place which, though it then lay neglected, afforded the happiest situation imaginable for a city. He gave him the plan of one, and exhorted him to put it in execution. The king, charmed with the motion, desired him to take the direction of the work ; and in a short time there was seen a large and beautiful city, which bore that prince's name, and was declared the metropolis of Armenia.

When Lucullus advanced to lay siege to this place, the patience of Tigranes failed him. He marched in quest of the Romans, and the fourth day encamped over against them, being separated from them only by the river Arsanas, which they must necessarily pass in their march to Artaxata. Lucullus having *sacrificed to the gods in full persuasion that the victory was his own*, passed over in order of battle with twelve cohorts in front. The rest were placed in the rear, to prevent their being surrounded by the enemy. For their motions were watched by a large select body of cavalry, covered by some flying squadrons of Mardian archers and Iberian spearmen, in whose courage and skill Tigranes, of all his foreign troops, placed the highest confidence. Their behaviour, however, did not distinguish them. They exchanged a few blows with the Roman

¹ This particular is confirmed by modern travellers. They tell us the snow lies there till August.

horse, but did not wait the charge of the infantry. They dispersed and fled, and the Roman cavalry pursued them in the different routes they had taken.

Tigranes now seeing his advantage, advanced with his own cavalry. Lucullus was a little intimidated at their numbers, and the splendour of their appearance. He therefore called his cavalry off from the pursuit; and in the meantime was the foremost to advance against the nobility, who, with the flower of the army, were about the king's person. But they fled at the sight of him without striking a blow. Of the three kings that were then in the action, the flight of Mithridates seems to have been the most disgraceful, for he did not stand the very shouts of the Romans. The pursuit continued the whole night, until wearied with the carnage, and satisfied with the prisoners, and the booty they made, the Romans drew off. Livy tells us, that in the former battle there were greater numbers killed and taken prisoners: but in this, persons of higher quality.

Lucullus, elevated with his success, resolved to penetrate the upper country, and to finish the destruction of this barbarian prince. It was now the autumnal equinox, and he met with storms he did not expect. The snow fell almost constantly; and when the sky was clear, the frost was so intense, that by reason of the extreme cold the horses could hardly drink of the rivers; nor could they pass them but with the utmost difficulty, because the ice broke, and cut the sinews of their legs. Besides, the greatest part of their march was through close and woody roads, where the troops were daily wet with the snow that lodged upon the trees, and they had only damp places wherein to pass the night.

They had not, therefore, followed Lucullus many days before they began to be refractory. At first they had recourse to entreaties, and sent their tribunes to intercede for them. Afterwards they met in a more tumultuous manner, and their murmurs were heard all over the camp by night; and this, perhaps, is the surest token of a mutiny. Lucullus tried what every milder measure could do; he exhorted them only to compose themselves a little longer, until they had destroyed the Armenian Carthage, built by Hannibal, the greatest enemy to the Roman name. But, finding his eloquence ineffectual, he marched back, and passed the ridge of mount Taurus another way. He came down into Mygdonia, an open and fertile country, where stands a great and populous city, which the barbarians called Nisibis, and the Greeks Antioch of Mygdonia.¹ Gouras, brother to Tigranes, had the title of governor, on account of his dignity; but the commander in fact was Callimachus, who, by his great abilities as an engineer, had given Lucullus so much trouble at Amisus.

Lucullus, having invested the place, availed himself of all the arts that are used in a siege, and pressed the place with so much vigour

¹ It was called Antioch, because in its delicious walks and pleasing situation it resembled the Antioch of Syria.

that he carried it sword in hand. Gouras surrendered himself, and he treated him with great humanity. He would not, however, listen to Callimachus, though he offered to discover to him a vast quantity of hidden treasure : but put him in fetters, in order that he might suffer capital punishment for setting fire to the city of Amisus, and by that means depriving him of the honour of showing his clemency to the Greeks.

Hitherto, one might say, fortune had followed Lucullus, and fought for him. But from this time the gales of her favour fell ; he could do nothing but with infinite difficulty, and struck upon every rock in his way. He behaved, indeed, with all the valour and persevering spirit of a good general, but his actions had no longer their wonted glory and favourable acceptance with the world. Nay, tossed as he was on the waves of fruitless contention, he was in danger of losing the glory he had already acquired. For great part of his misfortunes he might blame himself, because, in the first place, he would never study to oblige the common soldiers, but looked upon every compliance with their inclinations as the source of his disgrace and the destruction of his authority. What was of still greater consequence, he could not behave in an easy affable manner to those who were upon a footing with him in point of rank and birth, but treated them with haughtiness, and considered himself as greatly their superior. These blemishes Lucullus had amidst many perfections. *He was tall, well made, graceful, eloquent, and had abilities for the administration as well as for the field.*

Sallust tells us, the soldiers were ill-affected to him from the beginning of the war, because he made them keep the field two winters successively, the one before Cyzioum and the other before Amisus. The rest of the winters were very disagreeable to them ; they either passed them in hostilities against some enemy ; or, if they happened to be among friends, they were obliged to live in tents. *For Lucullus never once suffered his troops to enter any Grecian city, or any other in alliance with Rome.*

While the soldiers were of themselves thus ill-disposed, they were made still more mutinous by the demagogues at home ; who, through envy to Lucullus, accused him of protracting the war from a love of command and of the riches it procured him. He had almost the entire direction (they said) of Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and all the provinces as far as the Phasis : and now he was pillaging the royal palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been sent to strip, not to subdue kings. So Lucius Quintius, one of the tribunes, is said to have expressed himself ; the same who was principally concerned in procuring a decree that Lucullus should have a successor sent him, and that most of his troops should have their discharge.

To these misfortunes was added another, which absolutely ruined the affairs of Lucullus. Publius Clodius, a man of the utmost insolence and effrontery, was brother to his wife, who was so abandoned a woman, that it was believed she had a criminal com-

merce with him. He now bore arms under Lucullus, and imagined he had not the post he deserved ; for he wanted the first ; and on account of his disorderly life, many were put before him. Finding this, he practised with the Fimbrian troops, and endeavoured to set them against Lucullus, by flattering speeches and insinuations, to which they were neither unaccustomed nor unwilling to attend. For these were the men whom Fimbria had formerly persuaded to kill the consul Flaccus, and to appoint him their general. Still retaining such inclinations, they received Clodius with pleasure, and called him the soldier's friend. He did, indeed, pretend to be concerned at their sufferings, and used to say,—“ Shall there no period be put to their wars, and toils ; shall they go on fighting one nation after another, and wear out their lives in wandering over the world ? And what is the reward of so many laborious expeditions ? what, but to guard the waggons and camels of Lucullus, loaded with rups of gold and precious stones ? Whereas Pompey's soldiers, already discharged, sit down with their wives and children upon fertile estates, and in agreeable towns ; not for having driven Mithridates and Tigranes into inaccessible deserts, and destroying the royal cities in Asia, but for fighting with fugitives in Spain and slaves in Italy. If we must for ever have our swords in our hands, let us reserve all our hearts, and what remains of our limbs, for a general who thinks the wealth of his men his greatest ornament.”

These complaints against Lucullus corrupted his soldiers in such a manner, that they would neither follow him against Tigranes, nor yet against Mithridates, who from Armenia had thrown himself into Pontus, and was beginning to recover his authority there. They pretended it was impracticable to march in winter, and therefore loitered in Gordyene, expecting Pompey or some other general would come as successor to Lucullus. But when intelligence was brought that Mithridates had defeated Fabius, and was marching against Sornatius and Triarius, they were ashamed of their inaction, and told Lucullus he might lead them wherever he pleased.

Triarius being informed of the approach of Lucullus, was ambitious, before he arrived, to seize the victory which he thought perfectly secure ; in consequence of which he hazarded and lost a great battle. It is said that about 7,000 Romans were killed, among whom were 150 centurions, and 24 tribunes. Mithridates likewise took their camp. Lucullus arrived a few days after, fortunately enough for Triarius, whom he concealed from the soldiers, who wanted to wreak their vengeance upon him.

As Mithridates avoided an action with Lucullus, and chose to wait for Tigranes, who was coming with a great army, Lucullus, in order to prevent their junction, determined to go in quest of Tigranes once more. But as he was upon his march, the Fimbrians mutinied and deserted his standard, alleging that they were discharged by an express decree, and no longer obliged to serve under Lucullus, when those provinces were consigned to another. Lucullus, on this occasion, submitted to many things

heneath his dignity. He applied to the private men one by one, going round to their tents with a supplicating aspect and with tears in his eyes ; nay, he condescended to take some of them by the hand. But they rejected all his advances, and throwing down their empty purses before him, bade him go and fight the enemy himself, since he was the only person that knew how to make his advantage of it.

However, as the other soldiers interposed, the Fimbrians were prevailed upon to stay all the summer, on condition that if no enemy faced them in the field during that time they should be at liberty to retire. Lucullus was obliged either to accept this proposal or to abandon the country, or to leave it an easy prey to the barbarians. He kept the troops together, therefore, without pretending to exercise any act of power upon them, or to lead them out to battle ; thinking it all he could expect, if they would but remain upon the spot. At the same time he looked on, while Tigranes was ravaging Cappadocia, and Mithridates was growing strong and insolent again ; though he had acquainted the senate by letter that he was absolutely conquered, and deputies were come to settle the affairs of Pontus, as a province entirely reduced. These deputies, on their arrival, found that he was not even master of himself, but exposed to every instance of insult and contempt from his own soldiers. Nay, they treated their general with such wanton mockery, as, when the summer was passed, to arm, and challenge the enemy who were now retired into quarters. They shouted as in the charge, made passes in the air, and then left the camp, calling Lucullus to witness that they had stayed the time they promised him.

Pompey wrote to the other legions to attend him. For, through his interest with the people, and the flattering insinuations of the orators, he was already appointed general against Mithridates and Tigranes. To the senate, indeed, and all the best of the Romans, Lucullus appeared to have very hard treatment, since a person was sent to succeed him, not so much in the war as in his triumph : and he was robbed rather of the prize of honour than of the command. Those that were upon the spot found the matter still more invidious. Lucullus had no longer the power either of rewarding or punishing. Pompey suffered no man to wait upon him about any business whatever, or to pay any regard to the regulations he had made in concurrence with the ten commissioners. He forbade it by express and public orders ; and his influence was great, on account of his coming with a more respectable army.

Yet their friends thought it proper that they should come to an interview ; and accordingly they did so in a village of Galatia. They addressed each other with much politeness, and with mutual compliments on their great success. Lucullus was the older man, but Pompey had superior dignity, for he had commanded in more wars, and had been honoured with two triumphs. Each had the *farces* carried before him, adorned with a laurel on account of their

respective victories ; but as Pompey had travelled a long way through dry and parched countries, the laurels about his *fascēs* were withered. The lictors that preceded Lucullus observing this freely gave them a sufficient quantity of their fresh and green ones : which Pompey's friends considered as an auspicious circumstance. And, in fact, the great actions of Lucullus did cast a lustre over this expedition of Pompey.

This interview, however, had no good effect ; they parted with greater rancour in their hearts than they entertained at their meeting. Pompey annulled the acts of Lucullus ; and taking the rest of his troops from him, left him only 1,600 men for his triumph, and even these followed him with reluctance. So ill qualified, or *so unfortunate, was Lucullus, with respect to the first and greatest requisite in a general gaining the hearts of his soldiers.* Had this been added to his many other great and admirable talents, his courage, his vigilance, his prudence and justice, the Roman empire would not have been terminated, on the side of Asia, by the Euphrates, but by the Hyrcanian sea and the extremities of the earth. For Tigranes had already conquered the other nations ; and the power of the Parthians was neither so great nor so united in itself, during this expedition of Lucullus, as it was afterwards in the time of Crassus. On the contrary, they were weakened by intestine wars and by hostilities with their neighbours, insomuch that they were not able to repel the insults of the Armenians. In my opinion, indeed, the advantages which his country reaped from Lucullus were not equivalent to the calamities which he occasioned others to bring upon it. The trophies of Armenia, just in the neighbourhood of Parthia, the palms of Tigranocerta and Nisibis with all their vast wealth carried in triumph to Rome, and the captive diadem of Tigranes adorning the show, drew Crassus into Asia ; as if its barbarous inhabitants had been a sure and easy prey.—However, when he met the Parthian arrows, he soon found that the success of Lucullus was owing to his own courage and capacity, and not to the folly and effeminacy of the enemy.

Upon his return to Rome, Lucullus found his brother Marcus impeached by Memmius, for the practices he had given into during his quaestorship, by order of Sylla.—And when Marcus was acquitted, Memmius turned against Lucullus himself ; alleging that he had converted a great deal of the booty to his own private use, and had wilfully protracted the war. By these means he endeavoured to exasperate the people against him, and to prevail with them to refuse him his triumph. Lucullus was in great danger of losing it ; but at this crisis, the first and greatest men in Rome mixed with the tribes, and after much canvassing and the most engaging application, with great difficulty procured him the triumph.

Its glory did not consist, like that of others, in the length of the procession, or in the astonishing pomp and quantity of spoils, but in exhibiting the enemy's arms, the ensigus and other warlike equipage of the kings. With these he had adorned the Circus

Flaminius, and they made a very agreeable and respectable show. In the procession there were a few of the heavy armed cavalry, and ten chariots armed with scythes. These were followed by sixty grandees, either friends or lieutenants of the king. After them were drawn 110 galleys with brazen beaks. The next objects were a statue of Mithridates in massy gold, full six feet high, and his shield set with precious stones. Then came up 20 exhibitions of silver vessels, and 32 more of gold cups, arms, and gold coin. All these things were borne by men. These were followed by eight mules which carried beds of gold, and 56 more loaded with silver bullion. After these came 107 other mules, bearing silver coin to the amount of nearly 2,700,000 drachmas. The procession was closed with the registers of the money with which he had furnished Pompey for the war with the pirates, what he had remitted the questors for the public treasury, and the distribution they had made among the soldiers at the rate of 950 drachmas each man.—The triumph concluded with a magnificent entertainment provided for the whole city and the adjacent villages.

He now divorced Clodia for her infamous intrigues, and married Servilia the sister of Cato, but this second match was not more fortunate than the first. Servilia wanted no stain which Clodia had, except that of a commerce with her brothers. In other respects she was equally profligate and abominable. He forced himself, however, to endure her a long time out of reverence to Cato, but at last repudiated her too.

The senate had conceived great hopes of Lucullus, that he would prove a counterpoise to the tyranny of Pompey, and a protector of the whole patrician order; the rather because he had acquired so much honour and authority by his great actions. He gave up the cause, however, and quitted all pretensions to the administration; whether it was that he saw the constitution in too sickly and declining a condition to be corrected; or whether, as others will have it, that being satiated with public honours, and having gone through many labours and conflicts which had not the most fortunate issue, he chose to retire to a life of ease and indulgence. And they commend this change in his conduct, as much better than the distempered measures of Marius; who, after his victories over the Cimbri and all his glorious achievements, was not content with the admiration of his countrymen, but from an insatiable thirst of power, contended, in the decline of life, with the ambition of young men, falling into dreadful crimes, and into sufferings still more dreadful. *"How much happier,"* said they, *"would it have been for Cicero if he had retired after the affair of Catiline; and for Scipio, if he had furled his sails, when he had added Numantia to Carthage. For there is a period when we should bid adieu to political contests; these, as well as those of wrestlers, being absurd, when the strength and vigour of life is gone."*

On the other hand, Crassus and Pompey ridiculed Lucullus for giving into a life of pleasure and expense; thinking it full as unseasonable at his time of life to plunge into luxury, as to direct the

administration or lead armies into the field. Indeed the life of Lucullus does look like the ancient comedy¹ where first we see great actions, both political and military, and afterwards feasts, debauches (I had almost said masquerades), races by torch-light, and every kind of frivolous amusement. For among frivolous amusements I cannot but reckon his sumptuous villas, walks, and baths, and still more so, the painting, statues, and other works of art, which he collected at an immense expense; idly squandering away upon them the vast fortune which he had amassed in the wars.² Insomuch, that even now, when luxury has made so much greater advances, the gardens of Lucullus are numbered with those of kings, and the most magnificent even of those. When Tubero the stoic, beheld his works on the sea-coast near Naples, the hills he had excavated for vaults and cellars, the reservoirs he had formed about his houses, to receive the sea for the feeding of his fish, and his edifices in the sea itself; the philosopher called him Xerxes in a gown.³ Besides these, he had the most superb pleasure-houses in the country near Tusculum, adorned with grand galleries and open saloons, as well for the prospect as for walks. Pompey, on a visit there, blamed Lucullus for having made the villa commodious only for the summer, and absolutely uninhabitable in the winter. Lucullus answered with a smile, "What, then, do you think I have not so much sense as the cranes and storks which change their habitations with the seasons?"

A prætor, who wanted to exhibit magnificent games applied to Lucullus for some purple robes for the chorus in his tragedy; and he told him, he would inquire whether he could furnish him or not. Next day he asked how many he wanted. The prætor answered, "A hundred would be sufficient:" Upon which Lucullus said, "He might have twice that number if he pleased." The poet Horace makes this remark on the occasion,

Poor is the house, where plenty has not stores
That miss the master's eye——

His daily repasts were like those of a man suddenly grown rich; pompous not only in the beds, which were covered with purple carpets, the side-boards of plate set with precious stones, and all the entertainment which musicians and comedians could furnish; but in the vast variety and exquisite dressing of the provisions. These things excited the admiration of men of unenlarged minds. Pom-

¹ The ancient satirical or comic pieces were partly tragical, and partly comical. The Cyclops of Euripides is the only piece of that kind which is extant.

² Plutarch's philosophy seems a little too severe on this occasion; for it is not easy to see how public fortunes of this kind can be more properly laid out than in the encouragement of the arts. It is to be observed, however, that the im-

mense wealth Lucullus reserved to himself in his Asiatic expedition, in some measure justifies the complaints of his army on that subject.

³ This refers to the hills Lucullus bored for the completion of his vaults, or for the admission of water. Xerxes had bored through Mount Athos, and made a passage under it for his ships.

pey, therefore, was highly applauded for the answer he gave his physician in a fit of sickness. The physician had ordered him to eat a thrush, and his servants told him, "That as it was summer, there were no thrushes to be found except in the menageries of Lucullus." But he would not suffer them to apply for them there; and said to his physician, "Must Pompey then have died, if Lucullus had not been an epicure?" At the same time, he bade them provide him something which was to be had without difficulty.

Cato, though he was a friend as well as a relation, to Lucullus, was so much displeased with the luxury in which he lived, that when a young man made a long and unseasonable speech in the house about frugality and temperance, Cato rose up and said, "Will you never have done? Do you, who have the wealth of Crassus, and live like Lucullus, pretend to speak like Cato?" But some, though they allow that there was such a rebuke, say it came from another person.

That Lucullus was not only delighted with this way of living but even piqued himself upon it, appears from several of his remarkable sayings. He entertained for a considerable time some Greeks who had travelled to Rome, till remembering the simplicity of diet in their own country, they were ashamed to wait on him any longer, and desired to be excused on account of the daily expense they brought upon him. He smiled, and said, "*It is true, my Grecian friends, some part of this provision is for you, but the greatest part is for Lucullus.*" Another time, when he happened to sup alone, and saw but one table and a very moderate provision he called the servant who had the care of these matters, and expressed his dissatisfaction. The servant said, he thought as nobody was invited, his master would not want an expensive supper. "*What!*" said he, "*didst thou not know that this evening Lucullus sups with Lucullus?*" As this was the subject of much conversation in Rome, Cicero and Pompey addressed him one day in the Forum, when he appeared to be perfectly disengaged. *Cicero was one of his most intimate friends*, and though he had some difference with Pompey about the command of the army, yet they used to see each other, and converse freely and familiarly. Cicero, after the common salutations, asked him, "Whether he was at leisure to see company?" He answered, "Nothing could be more agreeable," and pressed them to come to his house. "Then we will wait on you," said Cicero, "this evening, on condition you give us nothing but what is provided for yourself." Lucullus made some difficulty of accepting the condition, and desired them to put off their favour till another day. But they insisted it should be that very evening, and would not suffer him to speak to his servants, lest he should order some addition to the supper. Only, at his request, they allowed him to tell one of them in their presence, "He should sup that evening in the Apollo;" which was the name of one of his most magnificent rooms. The persons invited had no notion of his stratagem; but, it seems, *each of his dining-rooms had*

its particular allowance for provisions, and service of plate, as well as other furniture. So that the servants hearing what room he would sup in, knew very well what expense they were to go to, and what side-board and carpets they were to use. The stated charge of an entertainment in the Apollo was 50,000 drachmas, and the whole sum was laid out that evening. Pompey, of course, when he saw so vast and expensive a provision, was surprised at the expedition with which it was prepared. In this respect Lucullus used his riches with all the disregard one might expect to be shown to so many captives and barbarians.

But the great expense he incurred in collecting books deserves a serious approbation. The number of volumes was great, and they were written in elegant hands; yet the use he made of them was more honourable than the acquisition. His libraries were open to all: the Greeks repaired at pleasure to the galleries and porticos, as to the retreat of the Muses, and there spent whole days in conversation on matters of learning; delighted to retire to such a scene from business and from care. Lucullus himself often joined these learned men in their walks, and conferred with them: and when he was applied to about the affairs of their country, he gave them his assistance and advice. So that his house was in fact an asylum and senate-house to all the Greeks that visited Rome.

He had a veneration for philosophy in general, and there was no sect which he absolutely rejected. But his principal and original attachment was to the Academy; not that which is called the new, though that flourished and was supported by Philo, who walked in the steps of Carneades; but the old Academy, whose doctrines were then taught by Antiochus of Ascalon, a man of the most persuasive powers. Lucullus sought his friendship with great avidity; and having prevailed with him to give him his company, set him to oppose the disciples of Philo. Cicero was of the number, and wrote an ingenious book against the old Academy, in which he makes Lucullus defend the principal doctrine in dispute, namely, that there is such a thing as certain knowledge, and himself maintains the contrary. The book is entitled LUCULLUS. They were, indeed, as we have observed, sincere friends, and acted upon the same principle in the administration. For Lucullus had not entirely abandoned the concerns of government; he only gave up the point as to the first influence and direction. The contest for that, he saw, might be attended not only with danger and disgrace, and therefore he soon left it to Crassus and Cato. When he had refused to take the lead, those who looked upon the power of Pompey with a suspicious eye, pitched upon Crassus and Cato to support the patrician interests. Lucullus, notwithstanding, gave his attendance in the *forum*, when the business of his friends required it; and he did the same in the senate-house, when there was any ambitious design of Pompey to combat. He got Pompey's orders annulled, which he had made after the conquest of the two kings; and, with the assistance of Cato, threw out his bill for a distribution of lands among his veterans.

This threw Pompey into the arms of Crassus and Cæsar, or rather he conspired with them against the commonwealth ; and having filled the city with soldiers, drove Cato and Lucullus out of the *forum*, and got his acts established by force.

As these proceedings were highly resented by all who had the interest of their country at heart, Pompey's party instructed one Vectius to act a part ; and gave it out that they had detected him in a design against Pompey's life. When Vectius was examined in the senate, he said it was at the instigation of others ; but in the assembly of the people he affirmed Lucullus was the man who put him upon it. No one gave credit to the assertion ; and, a few days after, it was very evident that the wretch was suborned to accuse an innocent man, when his dead body was thrown out of the prison. Pompey's party said, he had laid violent hands upon himself ; but the marks of the cord that had strangled him, and of the blows he had received, showed plainly that he was killed by the persons who suborned him.

This event made Lucullus still more unwilling to interfere in the concerns of government, and when Cicero was banished, and Cato sent to Cyprus, he quitted them entirely. *It is said, that his understanding gradually failed, and that before his death it was absolutely gone.* Cornelius Nepos, indeed, asserts that this failure of his intellect was not owing to sickness or old age, but to a potion given him by an enfranchised slave of his, named Callisthenes. Nor did Callisthenes give it him as a poison, but as a love potion. However, instead of conciliating his master's regards to him, it deprived him of his senses ; so that during the last years of his life, his brother had the care of his estate.

Nevertheless, when he died, he was as much regretted by the people, as if he had departed in that height of glory to which his merit in war and in the administration had raised him. They crowded to the procession ; and the body being carried into the *forum* by some young men of the first quality, they insisted, it should be buried in the *Campus Martius*, as that of Sylla had been. As this was a motion entirely unexpected, and the preparations for the funeral there could not easily be made, his brother, with much entreaty, prevailed with them to have the obsequies performed on the Tusculan estate, where everything was provided for that purpose. Nor did he long survive him. As he had followed him close in the course of years and honours, so he was not far behind him in his journey to the grave ; to which he bore the character of the best and most affectionate of brothers.

MARCUS CRASSUS.

MARCUS CRASSUS, whose father had borne the office of censor, and been honoured with a triumph, was brought up in a small house with his two brothers. These married while their parents were

living, and they all ate at the same table. This, we may suppose, contributed not a little to render him sober and moderate in his diet. Upon the death of one of his brothers, he took the widow and children into his house. With respect to women, there was not a man in Rome more regular in his conduct ; though, when somewhat advanced in years, he was suspected of a criminal commerce with one of the vestal virgins named Licinia. Licinia was impeached by one Plotinus, but acquitted upon trial. It seems the vestal had a beautiful country-house, which Crassus wanting to have at an under price, paid his court to the lady with great assiduity, and thence fell under that suspicion. His judges, knowing that avarice was at the bottom of all, acquitted him of the charge of corrupting the vestal : and he never let her rest till she had sold him her house.

The Romans say, Crassus had only that one vice of avarice, which cast a shade upon his many virtues. He appeared, indeed, to have but one bad quality, because it was so much stronger and more powerful than the rest, that it quite obscured them. His love of money is very evident from the size of his estate, and his manner of raising it. At first it did not exceed 300 talents. But, during his public employments, after he had *consecrated the tenth of his substance to Hercules, given an entertainment to the people, and a supply of bread corn to each citizen for three months, he found, upon an exact computation, that he was master of 7,100 talents.* The greatest part of this fortune, if we may declare the truth, to his extreme disgrace, was gleaned from war and from fires ; for he made a traffic of the public calamities. When Sylla had taken Rome, and sold the estates of those whom he had put to death, which he both reputed and called the spoils of his enemies, he was desirous to involve all persons of consequence in his crime, and he found in Crassus a man who refused no kind of gift or purchase.

Crassus observed also how liable the city was to fires, and how frequently houses fell down ; which misfortunes were owing to the weight of the buildings, and their standing so close together.¹ In consequence of this, he provided himself with slaves who were carpenters and masons, and went on collecting them till he had upwards of five hundred. Then he made it his business to buy houses that were on fire, and others that joined upon them ; and he commonly had them at a low price, by reason of the fear and distress the owners were in about the event. Hence, in time, he became master of a great part of Rome. But though he had so many workmen, he built no more for himself than one house in which he lived. For he used to say, "That those who love building will soon ruin themselves, and need no other enemies."

Though he had several silver mines, and lands of great value, as well as labourers who turned them to the best advantage, yet it may be truly asserted, that the revenue he drew from these was

¹ The streets were narrow and crooked, and the houses chiefly of wood, after the Gauls had burned the city.

nothing in comparison of that produced by his slaves. Such a number had he of them, and all useful in life, readers, amanuenses, book-keepers, stewards, and cooks. He used to attend to their education, and often gave them lessons himself; esteeming it a principal part of the business of a master to inspect and take care of his servants, whom he considered as the living instruments of economy. In this he was certainly right, if he thought, as he often said, that other matters should be managed by servants, but the servants by the master. Indeed, economics, so far as they regard only inanimate things, serve only the low purposes of gain; but where they regard human beings, they rise higher, and form a considerable branch of politics. He was wrong, however, in saying, that no man ought to be esteemed rich, who could not with his own revenue maintain an army. For as Archidamus observes, it never can be calculated what such a monster as war will devour. Nor consequently can it be determined what fortune is sufficient for its demands. Very different in this respect were the sentiments of Crassus from those of Marius. When the latter had made a distribution of lands among his soldiers at the rate of 14 acres a man, and found that they wanted more, he said, "I hope no Roman will ever think that portion of land too little which is sufficient to maintain him."

It must be acknowledged, that Crassus behaved in a generous manner to strangers; his house was always open to them. To which we may add, that he used to lend money to his friends without interest. Nevertheless his rigour in demanding his money the very day it was due, often made his appearing favour a greater inconvenience than the paying of interest would have been. As to his invitations, they were most of them to the commonalty; and though there was a simplicity in the provision, yet at the same time there was a neatness and uncereceremonious welcome, which made it more agreeable than more expensive tables.

As to his studies, he cultivated oratory, most particularly that of the bar, which had its superior utility. And though he might not be reckoned equal, upon the whole, to the first-rate speakers, yet by his care and application he exceeded those whom nature had favoured more. For there was not a cause, however unimportant, to which he did not come prepared. Besides, when Pompey, Cæsar, and Cicero, refused to speak, he often rose and finished the argument in favour of the defendant. This attention of his to assist any unfortunate citizen was a very popular thing; and his obliging manner in his common address had an equal charm. *There was not a Roman, however mean and insignificant, whom he did not salute, or whose salutation he did not return by name.*

His knowledge of history is also said to have been extensive, and he was not without a taste of Aristotle's philosophy. In the latter branch he was assisted by a philosopher named Alexander¹

¹ Xylander conjectures this might be Alexander the Milesian, who is called Polyhistor and Cornelianus and who is

said to have flourished in the times of Sulla.

a man who gave the most glorious proofs of his disinterested and mild disposition, during his acquaintance with Crassus. For it is not easy to say, whether his poverty was greater when he entered, or when he left his house. He was the only friend that Crassus would take with him into the country on which occasions he would lend him a cloak for the journey, but demand it again when he returned to Rome. The patience of that man is truly admirable, particularly, if we consider that the philosophy he professed did not look upon poverty as a thing indifferent.¹

When the faction of Cinna and Marius prevailed, it soon appeared that they were not returning for any benefit to their country, but for the ruin and destruction of the nobility. Part of them they had already caught and put to death; among whom were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, who was then a very young man, escaped the present danger. But, as he saw the tyrants had their hunters beating about for him on all sides, he took three friends and ten servants with him, and fled with surprising expedition into Spain; where he had attended his father during his prætorship, and gained himself friends. There, too, he found the minds of men full of terror, and all trembling at the cruelty of Marius, as if he had been actually present; therefore he did not venture to apply to any of his friends in public. Instead of that, he went into a farm which Vibius Pacianus had contiguous to the sea, and hid himself in a spacious cave there. From thence he sent one of his servants to sound Vibius; for his provisions already began to fail. Vibius, delighted to hear that he had escaped, inquired the number of people he had with him, and the place of his retreat. He did not wait on him in person, but sent immediately for the steward of that farm, and ordered him to dress a supper every day, carry it to the foot of the rock, and then retire in silence. He charged him not to be curious in examining into the affair, under pain of death; and promised him his freedom, if he proved faithful in his commission.

The cave is at a small distance from the sea. The surrounding rocks which form it admit only a slight and agreeable breath of air. A little beyond the entrance, it is astonishingly lofty, and the compass of it is so great, that it has several large caverns, like a suite of rooms, one within another. It is not destitute either of water or light. A spring of excellent water flows from the rock; and there are small natural apertures, where the rocks approach each other at top, through which day-light is admitted. By reason of the thickness of the rock, the interior air too is pure and clear; the foggy and moist part of it being carried away the stream.

Crassus, in this asylum, had his provisions brought every day by the steward, who neither saw nor knew him or his people, though he was seen by them, because they knew his time, and watched

¹ Aristotle's, as well as Plato's philosophy, reckoned riches among real blessings, and looked upon them as conducive to virtue.

for his coming. And he brought not only what was sufficient for use, but delicacies too for pleasure. For Vibius had determined to treat his friend with all imaginable kindness. He reflected that some regard should be had to his time of life, and as he was very young, that he should have some particular indulgences on that account. To supply his necessities only, he thought, looked more like constraint than friendship. Therefore, one day he took with him two handsome maid-servants, and walked towards the sea. When they came to the cave, he showed them the entrance, and bid them go boldly in, for they had nothing to fear. Crassus, seeing them, was afraid his retreat was discovered, and began to examine who they were, and what they wanted. They answered as they were instructed, "That they were come to seek their master who lay concealed there." Upon which, he perceived, it was only a piece of gallantry in Vibius, who studied to divert him. He received the damsels, therefore, and kept them all the time he stayed there; and they served to carry his messages to Vibius, and to bring answers back. Fenestella says,¹ he saw one of them when she was very old, and often heard her tell the story with pleasure.

Crassus spent eight months in this privacy, at the end of which he received intelligence that Cinna was dead. Then he immediately made his appearance, and numbers repaired to him; out of which he selected a corps of 2,500 men. With these he visited the cities; and most historians agree that he pillaged one called Malacca. But others tell us, he absolutely denied it, and disclaimed the thing in the face of those who spread the report. After this, he collected vessels, and passed over into Africa, to join Metellus Pius, an officer of great reputation, who had raised considerable forces. He did not, however, stay long there. Upon some difference with Metellus, he applied himself to Sylla, who received him with pleasure, and ranked him among his principal friends.

When Sylla was returned to Italy, he chose to keep the young men he had about him in exercise, and sent them upon various commissions. Crassus he despatched to levy troops among the Marsi; and, as his passage lay through the enemy's country, he demanded guards of Sylla. "*I give thee for guards,*" said he in an angry tone, "*I give thee for guards, thy father, thy brother, thy friends, thy relations, who have been unjustly and abominably sacrificed, and whose cause I am going to revenge upon their murderers.*"

Crassus, roused and inflamed with these words, passed boldly through the midst of the enemy: raised a considerable army, and showed his attachment, as well as exerted his courage, in all Sylla's conflicts. Hence, we are told, came his first competition and dispute with Pompey for the palm of honour. *Pompey was the younger man, and had this great disadvantage besides, that his*

¹ Fenestella wrote several books of annals. He might very well have seen one of these slaves when she was old; for

he did not die till the sixth year of the reign of Tiberius, nor until he was 70 years of age.

father was more hated than any man in Rome. Yet his genius broke forth with such lustre on these occasions, that Sylla treated him with more respect than he generally showed much older men, or even those of his own rank. For he used to rise up at his approach, and uncover his head, and salute him as *Imperator*.

Crassus was not a little piqued at these things, though there was no reason for his pretensions. He had not the capacity of Pompey; besides *his innate blemishes, his avarice and meanness, robbed his actions of all their grace and dignity.* For instance, when he took the city of Tuder in Umbria, he was supposed to have appropriated the greatest part of the plunder to his own use, and it was represented in that light to Sylla. It is true, in the battle fought near Rome, which was the greatest and most decisive of all, Sylla was worsted, his troops repulsed, and a number of them killed. Meantime, Crassus, who commanded the right wing, was victorious, and having pursued the enemy till night, sent to inform Sylla of his success, and to demand refreshments for his men.

But in the time of the proscriptions and confiscations, he lost all the credit he had gained; buying great estates at an under-price, and often begging such as he had cast his eye upon. Nay, in the country of the Brutians, he is said to have proscribed one man without Sylla's order, merely to seize his fortune. Upon this, Sylla gave him up, and never after employed him in any public affair.

*Though Crassus was an exquisite flatterer himself, yet no man was more easily caught by flattery than he. And what was very particular, though he was one of the most covetous men in the world, no man was more averse to, or more severe against, such as resembled him.*¹ But it gave him still more pain to see Pompey so successful in all his employments, to see him honoured with a triumph, and saluted by the citizens with the title of *the Great*. One day he happened to be told, "Pompey the Great was coming;" upon which he answered with a scornful smile, "How big is he?"

As he despaired of rising to an equality with him in war, he betook himself to the administration; and by paying his court, by defending the impeached, by lending money, and by assisting and canvassing for persons who stood for offices, he gained an authority and influence equal to that which Pompey acquired by his military achievements. There was something remarkably peculiar in their case. The name and interest of Pompey were much greater in Rome, when he was absent² and distinguishing himself in the field. When present, Crassus often carried his point against him. This must be imputed to the state and grandeur that he affected: he seldom showed himself in public, or appeared in the assemblies of the people; and he very rarely served those who made application

¹ It was observed by the late ingenious Mr. Shenstone, that a coxcomb will be the first to find out and expose a coxcomb. Men of the same virtues love each other for the sake of those virtues;

but sympathy in vice or folly has generally a contrary effect.

² This was not peculiar to Pompey; it was the case of Marius and many others.

to him ; imagining by that means he should have his interest entire when he wanted it himself. Crassus, on the contrary, had his services ever ready for those who wanted them ; he constantly made his appearance ; he was easy of access ; his life was spent in business and good offices : so that his open and obliging manner got the better of Pompey's distance and state.

As to dignity of person, powers of persuasion, and engaging turn of countenance, we are told they were the same. But the emulation with which Crassus was actuated never carried him on to hatred and malignity. It is true, he was concerned to see Pompey and Cæsar held in greater honour, but he did not add rancour and malevolence to his ambition ; though Cæsar, when he was taken by pirates, in Asia, and strictly confined, cried out, "O Crassus, what pleasure will it give thee to hear that I am taken !" However they were afterwards upon a footing of friendship ; and when Cæsar was going to set out for his command in Spain, and his creditors were ready to seize his equipage, because he could not satisfy them, Crassus was kind enough to deliver him from the embarrassment, by giving security for 830 talents.

Rome was at this time divided into three parties, at the head of which were Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. For, *as to Cato, his reputation was greater than his power, and his virtue more admired than followed.* The prudent and steady part of the city were for Pompey ; the violent and the enterprising gave into the prospects of Cæsar ; Crassus steered a middle course, and availed himself of both. *Crassus, indeed, often changed sides, and neither was a firm friend, nor an implacable enemy.* On the contrary, he frequently gave up either his attachments or resentments indifferently when his interest required it ; insomuch that in a short space of time he would appear either in support or opposition to the same persons and laws. He had some influence founded in love, and some in fear ; but fear was the more serviceable principle of the two. An instance of the latter we have in Licinius, who was very troublesome to the magistrates and leading orators of his time. When he was asked, why he did not attack Crassus among the rest, he answered, "*He wears wisps upon his horns.*"¹ So the Romans used to serve a vicious bull, for a warning to all persons that passed him.

When the gladiators took up arms and ravaged Italy, their insurrection was commonly called the war of Spartacus. Its origin was this : One Lentulus Batiatus kept at Capua a number of gladiators, the greatest part of which were Gauls and Thracians ; men not reduced to that employment for any crimes they had committed, but forced upon it by the injustice of their master. Two hundred of them, therefore, agreed to make their escape. Though the plot was discovered, 78 of them, by their extreme vigilance were beforehand with their master, and sallied out of town, having first seized all the long knives and spits in a cook's shop. On the

¹ This passed into a proverb.

road they met some waggons carrying a quantity of gladiators' arms to another place. These they seized, and armed themselves with them. Then they retired to a place of strength, and made choice of three leaders.¹ The first was Spartacus, whose extraction was from one of those Thracian *hordes* called Nomades. This man had not only a dignity of mind, a strength of body, but a discernment and civility superior to his fortune. In short, he was more of a Greek than a barbarian, in his manner.

It is said, that when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen twisted about his face as he slept. His wife, who was of the same tribe, having the gift of divination, and being a retainer besides to the orgies of Bacchus, said, it was a sign that he would rise to something very great and formidable, the result of which would be happy.² This woman still lived with him, and was the companion of his flight.

The fugitives first distinguished themselves by defeating a party sent against them from Capua; whose arms they seized and wore with great satisfaction; throwing away those of gladiators, as dishonourable and barbarous. Clodius Glaber the prætor was then sent against them from Rome, with a body of 3,000 men; and he besieged them on the hill where they were posted. There was but one ascent, which was very narrow and rugged, and there he placed a sufficient guard. The rest was all a craggy precipice, but covered with wild vines. The fugitives cut off such of the branches as might be of most service, and formed them into a ladder of sufficient strength, and so long as to reach the plain beneath. By the help of this ladder they all got down safely except one. This man remained above only to let down their arms; and when he had done that, he descended after them.

The Romans knowing nothing of this manœuvre, the gladiators came upon their rear, and attacked them so suddenly, that they fled in great consternation, and left their camp to the enemy. Spartacus was there joined by the herdsmen and shepherds of the country, men of great vigour, and remarkably swift of foot. Some of these he clad in heavy armour, and the rest served as reconnoitring parties, and for other purposes of the light-armed.

The next general sent against these gladiators was Publius Varinus. They first routed his lieutenant Furius, who engaged them with a detachment of 2,000 men. After this Spartacus watched the motions of Cossinius, who was appointed assistant and chief counsellor to Varinus, and was now marching against him with a considerable force. His vigilance was such, that he was very near taking Cossinius in the bath at Salenæ; and though he did escape with much difficulty, Spartacus seized his baggage. Then he pursued his steps, and took his camp, having first killed great numbers of the Romans. Cossinius himself was among the

¹ Spartacus, Chrisus, and Oenomaus.
This was begun in A.D.C. 180; B.C. 71.

² His end was happy for a gladiator.

He died fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

slain. His subsequent operations were equally decisive. He beat Varinus in several engagements, and *took his liitors, and the very horse he rode.*

By this time he was become great and formidable. Nevertheless his views were moderate, he had too much understanding to hope in the conquest of the Romans, and therefore led his army to the Alps, with an intention to cross them, and then dismiss his troops, that they might retire to their respective countries, some to Thrace, and some to Gaul. But they, relying upon their numbers, and elated with success, would not listen to his proposal. Instead of that, they laid Italy waste as they traversed it.

It was no longer the indignity and disgrace of this revolt that afflicted the senate; it was fear and danger; and they now employed both the consuls in this war, as one of the most difficult and important they ever had upon their hands. Gelius, one of the consuls, having surprised a body of Germans, who were so rash and self-opinionated as to separate from the troops of Spartacus, defeated them entirely and put them to the sword. Lentulus, the other consul, endeavoured to surround Spartacus, with his forces, which were very considerable. Spartacus met him fairly in the field, beat his lieutenants, and stripped them of their baggage. He then continued his route towards the Alps, but was opposed by Cassius, who commanded in that part of Gaul which lay about the Po, and came against him at the head of 10,000 men. A battle ensued, in which Cassius was defeated, with great loss, and saved himself not without difficulty.

No sooner were the senate informed of these miserable proceedings, than they expressed the greatest indignation against the consuls, and gave orders that they should be superseded in the command. Crassus was the person they pitched upon as a successor, and many of the nobility served under him, as volunteers, as well on account of his political influence as from personal regard. He went and posted himself in the Picene, in order to intercept Spartacus, who was to march that way. At the same time he sent his lieutenant Mummius round with two legions; giving him strict orders only to follow the enemy, and by no means to hazard either battle or skirmish. Mummius, however, upon the first promising occasion, engaged Spartacus, and was entirely routed. Numbers fell upon the field of battle, and many others threw away their arms, and fled for their lives.

Crassus gave Mummius a severe reprimand, and new armed his men, but insisted withal that they should find security for their keeping those arms they were now intrusted with. The first 500, who had shown the greatest marks of cowardice, he divided into 50 parts, and put one in each decade to death, to whose lot it might happen to fall; thus reviving an ancient custom of military punishment which had been long disused. *Indeed, this kind of punishment is the greatest mark of infamy, and being put in execution in sight of the whole army, is attended with many awful and affecting circumstances.*

After thus chastising his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus turned back and retired through Lucania to the sea. The rebel happening to find a number of vessels in harbour belonging to the Cilician pirates, resolved to make an attempt upon Sicily; where, at the head of 2,000 men, he thought he could easily rekindle the Servile war, which had but lately been smothered¹ and which wanted little fuel to make it flame out again. Accordingly the pirates entered into agreement with him; but they had no sooner taken his money than they broke their engagement, and sailed another way. Spartacus, thus deceived, left the sea, and entrenched himself in the peninsula of Rhegium.

When Crassus came up, he observed that the nature of the place suggested what measures he should take; in consequence of which he determined to build a wall across the isthmus. This, he knew, would at once keep his soldiers from idleness, and cut off the enemy's supplies. The work was great and difficult: nevertheless he finished it beyond all expectation, in a short time; drawing a trench from sea to sea 300 furlongs in length, 15 feet in breadth, and as many in depth; he built a wall also above it of considerable height and strength.

Spartacus at first made a jest of the undertaking. But, when his plunder began to fail, and he wanted to go farther, he saw the wall before him, and at the same time was conscious that the peninsula was exhausted. He watched his opportunity, however, in a snowy and tempestuous night, to fill up the trench with earth, wood, and other materials; and so passed it with a third part of his army. Crassus now began to fear, that Spartacus, in the spirit of enterprise, would march immediately to Rome. But when he observed that a number of the enemy, upon some difference or other, separated and encamped upon the Lucanian lake, he recovered his spirits. The water of this lake is said to change in such a manner, as sometimes to be sweet and fresh, and at other times so salt that it is impossible to drink it. Crassus fell upon this party, and drove them from the lake, but could not do any great execution, or continue the pursuit far, because Spartacus made his appearance, and rallied the fugitives.

Crassus now repented of having written to the senate, *that it was necessary to recall Lucullus from Thrace, and Pompey from Spain*; and hastened to finish the war himself. For he was sensible that the general who should come to his assistance would rob him of all the honour. He resolved, therefore, in the first place, to attack the troops which had revolted, and formed a separate body, under the command of two officers named Cannicius and Castus. With this view, he sent a corps of 6,000 men before to seize an eminence which he thought would be of service to him, but ordered them to conduct their enterprise with all imaginable secrecy. They observed his directions; and, to conceal their march the better,

¹ It was but nineteen years before, that a period was put to the Servile war in Sicily.

covered their helmets and the rest of their arms. Two women, however, who were sacrificing before the enemy's camp, discovered them; and they would probably have met their fate, had not Crassus advanced immediately, and given the enemy battle. This was the most obstinate action in the whole war. 12,300 of the enemy were killed, of which number there were only two found wounded in the back; the rest died in their ranks, after the bravest exertions of valour.

Spartacus, after this defeat, retired towards the mountains of Petelia; and Quintus, one of Crassus's officers, and Scrophia the quaestor, marched after to harass his rear. But, Spartacus facing about, the Romans fled in the most dastardly manner, and with great difficulty carried off the quaestor, who was wounded. This success was the ruin of Spartacus. It gave the fugitives such spirits, that they would no longer decline a decisive action, or be obedient to their officers; but as they were upon the road, addressed them with their swords in their hands, and insisted on marching back through Lucania with the utmost expedition, to meet the Romans, and face Crassus in the field.

This was the very thing that Crassus desired. He was informed that Pompey was approaching; and of the many speeches to the people on occasion of the ensuing election, in which it was asserted, that this laurel belonged to him, and that, as soon as he made his appearance, he would by some decisive stroke put an end to the war.

Crassus, therefore, hastened to give that stroke himself, and, with the same view, encamped very near the enemy. One day when he had ordered his soldiers to dig a trench, the gladiators attacked them as they were at work. Numbers came up continually on both sides to support the combatants; and at last Spartacus seeing what the case necessarily required, drew out his whole army. When they brought him his horse, he drew his sword and killed him, saying at the same time, "If I prove victorious, I shall have horses at command; if I am defeated, I shall have no need of this." His aim was to find Crassus, and he made his way through showers of darts and heaps of the slain. He did not, indeed, reach him, but he killed with his own hand two centurions who ventured to engage him. At last, those that seconded him fled. He, however, still stood his ground, and though surrounded by numbers, fought with great gallantry, till he was cut in pieces.

Crassus, on this occasion, availed himself of every circumstance with which fortune favoured him; he performed every act of generalship; he exposed his person in the boldest manner; yet he was only wreathing a laurel for the brows of Pompey. Pompey met, it seems, those who escaped out of the field, and put them to the sword. In consequence of which, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had indeed beaten the fugitive gladiators in a pitched battle; but that it was he who had cut up the war by the roots."

Pompey, on his return to Rome, triumphed in a magnificent

manner for his conquest of Sertorius and Spain. As for Crassus, he did not pretend to ask for the greater triumph; and even the less, which is led up on foot, under the name of an ovation, seemed to have no propriety or decorum in the conquest of fugitive slaves.

Pompey was immediately called to the consulship; and though Crassus had interest enough of his own to encourage him to hope for the same honour, yet he scrupled not to solicit his good offices. Pompey received the application with pleasure; for he was desirous by all means to have Crassus under an obligation to him. He, therefore, readily espoused his cause; and, at last, when he made his speech to the people, said, "he was as much indebted to them for the colleague they had given him as for their favour to himself." However, the same good understanding did not long continue; they differed about almost every article that came before them; and those disputes and altercations prevented their doing anything considerable during their whole consulship. The most remarkable thing was, that Crassus offered a great sacrifice to Hercules, entertained the people at 10,000 tables, and gave them a supply of bread-corn for three months.

When they held one of the last assemblies before they quitted their charge, a Roman knight, named Onatius Aurelius, who had spent most of his time in a retired manner in the country, and was a man of no great note, mounted the rostrum, and gave the people an account of a vision that had appeared to him. "Jupiter," said he, "appeared to me in a dream, and commanded me to inform you in this public manner, that you are not to suffer the consuls to lay down their office before they are reconciled." He had no sooner ended his speech than the people insisted that they should be reconciled.—Pompey stood without making any motion towards it, but Crassus went and offered him his hand. "I am not ashamed, my fellow citizens," said he, "nor do I think it beneath me, to make the first advances to Pompey, whom you distinguished with the name of *Great*, while he was but a beardless youth, and whom you honoured with a triumph before he was a senator."

These were the only memorable things in the consulate of Crassus. As for his censorship, it passed without anything worth mentioning.¹ *He made no inquisition into the lives and manners of the senators; he did not review the equestrian order, or number the people.* Lutacius Catulus, one of the best natured men in the world, was his colleague; and it is said that when Crassus wanted to adopt a violent and unjust measure, I mean the making of Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus strongly opposed it; and hence arose that difference, in consequence of which they resigned their charge.

When the great conspiracy of Cataline, which brought the commonwealth to the verge of destruction, broke out, Crassus was suspected of having some concern in it. Nay, there was one who

¹ He was censor six years after his consulship, 83 B.C.

named him among the conspirators ; but no one gave credit to his information.¹ It is true, Cicero, in one of his orations, openly accuses both Crassus and Cæsar of that crime. But that oration did not appear in public till both those great men were dead. On the other hand, the same Cicero, in the oration he delivered relating to his consulship, expressly says, that Crassus came to him one night, and put a letter in his hands, which showed the reality of the plot into which they were then inquiring. Be that as it may, it is certain that *Crassus after this conceived a mortal hatred for Cicero*, and would have shown it in some act of violence, had not his son Publius prevented it. Publius was a man of letters, and eloquence had a particular charm for him—hence his attachment to Cicero was so great, that when the bill for his banishment was proposed, he went into mourning, and persuaded the rest of the Roman youth to do the same. At last, he even prevailed with his father to be reconciled to him.

About this time, Cæsar returned from his government, to solicit the consulship. Finding Crassus and Pompey again at variance, he would not apply to either in particular, lest he should make the other his enemy ; nor could he hope to succeed without the assistance of one of them. In this dilemma he determined, if possible, to effect a good understanding once more between them. For which purpose he represented, "That, by levelling their artillery against each other, they raised the Ciceros, the Catuli, and the Catos ; who would be nothing, if they were once real friends, and took care to act in concert. If that were the case," said he, "with your united interests and counsels you might carry all before you."

These representations had their effect, and, *by joining himself to the league, he formed that invincible triumvirate which ruined the senate and people of Rome. Not that either Crassus or Pompey gained any advantage from their union ; but Cæsar, by the help of both, climbed to the highest pinnacle of power. An earnest of this he had, in his being unanimously elected consul. And as he acquitted himself in his office with great honour, they procured him the command of armies, and decreed him the province of Gaul, where he was established as in an impregnable castle. For, they imagined if they did but secure to him the province that was fallen to his lot, they might share the rest between them at their leisure.*

It was the immoderate love of power which led Pompey into this error. And Crassus to his old disease of avarice now added a new

¹ Sallust says otherwise. He tells us it did appear incredible to some, but others believed it. Yet, not thinking it advisable to exasperate a man of so much power, they joined his retainers and those who owed him money, in crying it was a calumny and in saying the senate ought to exculpate him ; which accordingly they did. Some were of opinion, and Crassus

himself among the rest, the informer was suborned by Cicero. But what and could Cicero have in accusing a man of his consequence, unless it were to alarm the senate and people the more with a sense of their danger ? And what could Crassus propose to himself in entering into a plot to burn a city in which his property was so large :

one. The achievements, the victories, and triumphs of Cæsar, raised in Crassus a passion for the same; and he could not be content to be beneath him in this respect, though he was so much superior in others. He therefore never left himself rest, till he met an inglorious fate, and involved his country in the most dreadful calamities.

On Cæsar's coming from Gaul to the city of Lucca, numbers went to wait upon him, and among the rest Crassus and Pompey. These, in their private conferences, agreed with him to carry matters with a higher hand, and to make themselves absolute in Rome. For this purpose Cæsar was to remain at the head of his army, and the other two chiefs to divide the rest of the provinces and armies between them. There was no way, however, to carry their scheme into execution, without suing for another consulship; in which Cæsar was to assist by writing to his friends, and by sending a number of his soldiers to vote in the election.

When Crassus and Pompey returned to Rome, their designs were very much suspected; and the general discourse was, that the late interview boded no good to the commonwealth. Hereupon, Marcellinus and Domitius Ænobarbus asked Pompey in full senate, "Whether he intended to solicit the consulship?" To which he answered, "Perhaps I may—perhaps not." And upon their interrogating him a second time, he said, "If I solicit it, I shall solicit it for men of honour, and not for men of a meaner principle." As this answer appeared to have too much of haughtiness and contempt, Crassus expressed himself with more moderation, "If it be for the public good, I shall solicit it—if not, I shall forbear."

By this some other candidates, and among the rest Domitius, were emboldened to appear; but as soon as Crassus and Pompey declared themselves, the rest dropped their pretensions. Only Domitius was exhorted and encouraged by his friend and kinsman Cato, "Not to abandon his prospects, but to stand boldly up for the liberties of his country. As for Pompey and Crassus, he said, they wanted not the consulship, but absolute power; nor was it so much their aim to be chief magistrates at home, as to seize the provinces, and to divide the armies between them."

Cato having thus expressed his real sentiments, drew Domitius almost forcibly into the *forum*, and numbers joined them there. For they were greatly surprised at this step of Crassus and Pompey. "Why do they demand," said they, "a second consulship? Why together? Why not with others? Have we not many persons of merit sufficient to entitle them to be colleagues with either Crassus or Pompey?"

Pompey's party, alarmed at these speeches, threw off the mask, and adopted the most violent measures. Among other outrages, they waylaid Domitius as he was going to the place of election before day, accompanied by his friends; killed the torch-bearer, and wounded many of his train, Cato among the rest.

Then they shut them all up together till Crassus and Pompey were elected.

A little after this, they confined Domitius to his house, by planting armed men about it, drove Cato out of the *forum*, and killed several who made resistance. Having thus cleared the way, they continued Cesar in his government for five years more, and got Syria and both the Spains for their own provinces. Upon casting lots, Syria fell to Crassus, and the Spains to Pompey.

The allotment was not disagreeable to the multitude. They chose to have Pompey not far from Rome; and Pompey, who passionately loved his wife, was very glad of the opportunity to spend most of his time there. As for Crassus, as soon as it appeared that Syria was his lot, he discovered the greatest joy, and considered it as the principal happiness of his life; insomuch that even before strangers and the populace he could hardly restrain his transports. To his intimate friends he opened himself more freely, expressing the most sanguine hopes and indulging in vain elevations of heart, unsuitable to his age and disposition: for in general he was far from being pompous or inclined to vanity. But now extravagantly elated and corrupted by his flattering prospects, he considered not Syria and the Parthians as the termination of his good fortune; but intended to make the expedition of Lucullus against Tigranes, and of Pompey against Mithridates, appear only the sports of children. *His design was to penetrate to the Bactrians, the Indians, the eastern ocean, and in his hopes he had already swallowed up the east.*

In the law relating to the government of Crassus, no mention was made of a war in its neighbourhood; but all the world knew Crassus had an eye to it. And Cesar, in the letter he wrote to him from Gaul, commended his design, and encouraged him to attack the Parthians. But when he was going to set out, Ateius, one of the tribunes, threatened to stop him, and numbers joined the tribune's party. They could not without indignation think of his going to begin hostilities against a people who had done them no injury, and were in fact their allies. Crassus, alarmed at this, desired Pompey to conduct him out of Rome. He knew the dignity of Pompey, and the veneration the populace had for him: and on this occasion, though many were prepared to withstand Crassus, and to raise a clamour against him, yet when they saw Pompey marching before him with an open and gay countenance, they dropped their resentment, and made way in silence.

Ateius, however, advanced to meet him. In the first place, by the authority of his office he commanded him to stop, and protested against his enterprise. Then he ordered one of his officers to seize him. But the other tribunes interposing, the officer let Crassus go. Ateius now ran before to the gate, and placed there a censor with fire in it. At the approach of Crassus he sprinkled incense upon it, offered libations, and uttered the most horrid imprecations, invoking at the same time certain dreadful and strange gods. The Romans say, these mysterious and ancient imprecations

tions have such power,¹ that the object of them never escapes their effect; nay, they add, that the person who uses them is sure to be unhappy, so that they are seldom used, and never but upon a great occasion. Ateius was much blamed for his rash zeal. It was for his country's sake that he was an adversary to Crassus, and yet it was his country he had laid under that dreadful curse.

Crassus, pursuing his journey, came to Brundisium; and though the winter storms made the voyage dangerous, he put to sea, and lost a number of vessels in his passage. As soon as he had collected the rest of his troops, he continued his route by land through Galatia. There he paid his respects to Deiotarus, who, though an old man, was building a new city. Crassus laughed, and said, "You begin to build at the twelfth hour of the day!" The king laughed in his turn, and answered, "You do not set out very early in the morning against the Parthians!" Crassus, indeed, was then above sixty years of age,² and he looked much older than he was.

Upon his arrival in Syria, his affairs prospered at first according to his expectation. He threw a bridge over the Euphrates with ease, and his army passed over it without opposition. Many cities in Mesopotamia voluntarily received him; and one only stood upon its defence. The prince who governed it was named Apollonius. The Romans having lost about 100 men before it, Crassus marched against it with all his forces, took it by assault, plundered it of everything valuable, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. The Greeks called that city Zenodotia.³ Crassus, upon taking it, suffered his army to salute him *Imperator*; a thing which reflected no small disgrace upon him: it showed the meanness of his spirit, and his despair of effecting anything considerable, when he valued himself upon such a trifling acquisition.

After he had garrisoned the towns that had submitted with 7,000 foot and 1,000 horse, he returned into Syria, to winter. There he was joined by his son, whom Cæsar had sent to him from Gaul, adorned with military honours, and at the head of 1,000 select horse.

Among the many errors which Crassus committed in this war, the first, and none of the least, was his returning so soon into Syria. He ought to have gone forward, and strengthened himself with the accession of Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians: instead of which, he gave the enemy abundant time to prepare themselves. Besides, his occupations in Syria were greatly censured, having more of the trader in them than of the general. Instead of examining into the arms of his soldiers, keeping them in exercise, and improving their strength and activity by proper rewards, he was inquiring into the revenues of the cities, and

¹ — *Dura detestatio
Nulla expiator victimi.* — Hon.

² Crassus set out upon this expedition in the year of Rome 699.

³ Zenodotia, in the province of Ochoana.

weighing the treasures in the temple of the goddess of Hierapolis.¹ And though he fixed the quotas of troops which the states and principalities were to furnish, he let them off again for a sum of money; which exposed him to the contempt of those whom he excused.

The first sign of his future fortune came from this very goddess, whom some call *Venus*, some *Juno*, others *Nature*, or that great principle which produces all things out of moisture, and instructs mankind in the knowledge of everything that is good. As they were going out of the temple, young Crassus stumbled and fell at the gate, and his father fell upon him.

He was now drawing his troops out of winter-quarters, when ambassadors came from Arsacus, and addressed him in this short speech: "If this army was sent against the Parthians by the Roman people, that people has nothing to expect but perpetual war and enmity irreconcilable. But if Crassus, against the inclinations of his country (which they were informed was the case), to gratify his own avarice, has undertaken this war, and invaded one of the Parthian provinces, Arsaces will act with more moderation. He will take compassion on Crassus's age, and let the Romans go, though in fact he considers them rather as in prison than in garrison." To this Crassus made no return but a rhodomontade; he said, "*He would give them his answer at Seleucia.*" Upon which Vagises, the oldest of the ambassadors, laughed; and, turning up the palm of his hand, replied, "*Crassus, here will hair grow before thou wilt see Seleucia.*"

The ambassadors then returned to their king Orodes,² and told him he must prepare for war. Meantime, some Romans escaped with difficulty from the cities they garrisoned in Mesopotamia, and brought a very alarming account of the enemy. They said, "they had been eye-witnesses to their immense numbers, and to their dreadful manner of fighting, when they attacked the towns." And, as it is usual for fear to magnify its object, they added, "*It is impossible either to escape them when they pursue, or to take them when they fly. They have a new and strange sort of arrows, which are swifter than lightning, and reach their mark before you can see they are discharged; nor are they less fatal in their effects than swift in their course. The offensive arms of their cavalry pierce through everything, and the defensive arms are so well tempered, that nothing can pierce them.*"

The Roman soldiers were struck with this account, and their courage began to droop. They had imagined that the Parthians

¹ About 20 miles from the Euphrates there was a city known by the several names of Bambyce, Edeesse, and Hierapolis. By the Syrian, it was called Magog. The goddess Atargatis was worshipped there with great devotion. Lucian mentions her temple as the richest in the world.

² Here the king of Parthia is called

Orodes, who before was called Arsaces. Arsaces was probably a name common to the kings of that country, and Orodes the proper name of this prince. He was the son of Phraates the second, and made his way to the crown through the blood of his elder brother, Mithridates. For this he deservedly died the same kind of death.

were not different from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had beaten and driven before him till he was weary; and consequently that the hardest part of the expedition would be the length of the way, and the trouble of pursuing men who would never stand an engagement. But now they found they had war and danger to look in the face, which they had not thought of: insomuch that several of the principal officers were of opinion that Crassus ought to stop, and call a council to consider whether new measures ought not to be taken. Of this number was Cassius the quaestor. Besides, *the soothsayers whispered that the sacrifices were not accepted by the gods, and the signs appeared always inauspicious to the general.* However, he paid no attention to them, nor to any but those who were for hastening his march.

He was the more confirmed in his intentions by the arrival of Artavasdes,¹ king of Armenia. That prince came with 6000 horse, which he said were only his body guard. He promised Crassus 10,000 more, armed at all points, and 30,000 foot, all to be maintained at his own expense. At the same time, he advised him to enter Parthia by way of Armenia. "By that means," said he, "you will not only have plenty of provisions, which I shall take care to supply you with; but your march will be safe, as it will lie along a chain of mountains, and a country almost impracticable for cavalry, in which the Parthian strength consists." Crassus received his tender of service and his noble offer of succours but coldly; and said, "He should march through Mesopotamia, where he had left a number of brave Romans." Upon this the Armenian bade him adieu, and returned to his own country.

As Crassus was passing the Euphrates at Zeugma, he met with dreadful bursts of thunder, and lightnings flamed in the face of his troops. At the same time, the black clouds emitted a hurricane mingled with fire, which broke down and destroyed great part of his bridge. The place which he had marked out for a camp was also twice struck with lightning. One of the general's war horses, richly caparisoned, running away with his rider, leaped into the river, and was seen no more. And it is said, when the foremost eagle was moved, in order for a march, it turned back of its own accord. Besides these ill tokens, it happened that when the soldiers had their provisions distributed, after they had crossed the river, they were first served with lentils and salt, which are reckoned ominous, and commonly placed upon the monuments of the dead. In a speech of Crassus to the army, an expression escaped him, which struck them all with horror. He said "He had broken down the bridge, that not one of them might return." And when he ought, upon perceiving the impropriety of the expression, to have recalled, or explained it to the intimidated troops, his obstinacy would not permit him. To which we may add, that *in the sacrifice*

¹ In the text he is here called Artabases; but, as Plutarch calls him Artavasdes

everywhere afterwards, we thought it proper to put it so here.

offered for the instruction of the army, the aruspex having put the entrails in his hands, he let them fall. All who attended the ceremony were struck with astonishment; but he only said with a smile, "See what it is to be old! My sword, however, shall not slip out of my hands in this manner."

Immediately after this, he began his march along the side of the Euphrates, with seven legions, near 4,000 horse, and almost as many of the light-armed. He had not gone far before some of his scouts returned, and told him, they had not found so much as one man in their excursions; but that there were many vestiges of cavalry, who appeared to have fled as if they had been pursued.

Crassus now began to be more sanguine in his hopes, and the soldiers to hold the enemy in contempt, upon a supposition that they durst not stand an encounter. Nevertheless, Cassius addressed himself to the general again, and advised him, "To secure his troops in some fortified town, till he should have some account of the enemy that might be depended upon. If he did not choose that, he desired him to keep along the river till he reached Seleucia: for by this means he would be constantly supplied with provisions from the vessels that would follow his camp; and the river preventing his being surrounded, he would always have it in his power to fight upon equal terms."

While Crassus was weighing these counsels with much deliberation, there arrived an Arabian chief named Ariamnes.¹ This artful and perfidious man was the principal instrument of all the calamities which fortune was preparing for the ruin of Crassus. Some of his officers who had served under Pompey, knew how much Ariamnes was indebted to that general's favour, and that in consequence he passed for a well-wisher to the Romans. But now, gained by the Parthian officers, he concerted with them a scheme to draw Crassus from the river and the higher grounds, into an immense plain where he might easily be surrounded. For the enemy thought of nothing less than fighting a pitched battle with the Romans.

This barbarian, then, addressing himself to Crassus, at first launched out into the praises of Pompey as his benefactor, for he was a voluble and artful speaker. Then he expressed his admiration of so fine an army, but withal took occasion to blame Crassus for his delays, and the time he spent in preparing; as if weapons, and not rather active hands and feet, were required against a people, who had long been determined to retire with their most valuable effects, and with their families and friends, to the Scythians and Hyrcanians. "Or suppose you have to fight," said he, "you ought to hasten to the encounter, before the king recover his spirits, and collect all his forces. At present he has only sent out Surena and Sillaces to amuse you, and to prevent your pursuit of himself. For his part, he will take care not to appear in the field."

This story was false in every circumstance. For Orodes had

¹ Appian and Dion Cassius call him Aobarus or Agbarus

divided his army into two parts ; with one of which he was ravaging Armenia, to wreak his vengeance upon Artavasdes ; Surena was left with the other, to make head against the Romans. Not that the king (as some will have it) had any contempt for the Romans, for Crassus, one of the most powerful men Rome had produced, was not an antagonist whom he should despise, thinking it a fairer field of honour to go and fight with Artavasdes, and lay waste Armenia. On the contrary, it is highly probable, it was his apprehension of danger which made him keep at a distance and watch the rising event ; in order to which he sent Surena before him, to make trial of the enemy's strength, and to amuse them with his stratagems. For Surena was no ordinary person ; but in fortune, family, and honour, the first after the king ; and in point of courage and capacity, as well as in size and beauty, superior to the Parthians of his time. If he went only upon an excursion into the country, he had 1,000 camels to carry his baggage, and 200 carriages for his concubines. He was attended by 1,000 heavy-armed horse, and many more of the light-armed rode before him. Indeed, his vassals and slaves made up a body of cavalry little less than 10,000. *He had the hereditary privilege in his family to put the diadem upon the king's head, when he was crowned.* When Orodes was driven from the throne, he restored him ; and it was he who conquered for him the great city of Seleucia, being the first to scale the wall, beating off the enemy with his own hand. Though he was then not thirty years old, his discernment was strong, and his counsel esteemed the best. These were the talents by which he overthrew Crassus, who laid himself open to his arts, first by a too sanguine confidence, and afterwards by his fears and depression under misfortunes.

When Crassus had listened to the lure of Ariamnes, and left the river to march into the plain, the traitor led him a way that was smooth and easy at first ; but after a while it became extremely difficult, by reason of the deep sands in which he had to wade, and the sight of a vast desert without wood or water, which afforded no prospect of repose or hope of refreshment. So that his troops were ready to give out, not only through thirst and the difficulty of the march, but through the comfortless and melancholy view before them of a country where there was neither tree nor stream to be seen, no hill to shelter them, no green herb growing, but the billows of an immense sea of sand surrounding the whole army.

These things gave them sufficient reason to suspect they were betrayed ; but when the envoys of Artavasdes arrived, there was no room to doubt it. That prince informed Crassus, " That Orodes had invaded his kingdom with a great army, so that now he could send the Romans no succours. Therefore he advised them to march towards Armenia, where, with their united forces, they might give Orodes battle. If Crassus did not relish this advice, he conjured him at least never to encamp upon any ground favourable to the cavalry, but to keep close to the mountains." Crassus

in his resentment and infatuation would send no answer in writing ; he only said, "He was not at leisure now to think of the Armenians, but by and by he would come and chastise their king for his perfidiousness." Cassius was extremely chagrined, but would not make any more remonstrances to the general, who was already offended at the liberty he had taken. He applied, however, to the barbarian in private, in such terms as these, "O thou vilest of impostors, what malevolent demon has brought thee amongst us ? By what potions, by what enchantments, hast thou prevailed upon Crassus to pour his army into this vast, this amazing desert ; a march more fit for a Numidian robber than for a Roman general ?" The barbarian, who had art enough to adapt himself to all occasions, humbled himself to Cassius, and encouraged him to hold out and have patience only a little longer. As for the soldiers, he rode about the ranks under a pretence of fortifying them against their fatigues, and made use of several taunting expressions to them, "What," said he, "do you imagine that you are marching through Campania ? Do you expect the fountains, the streams, the shades, the baths, and houses of refreshment you meet with there ? And will you never remember that you are traversing the barren confines of the Arabians and Assyrians ?" Thus the traitor admonished, or rather insulted the Romans, and got off at last before his imposture was discovered. Nor was this without the general's knowledge ; he even persuaded him then, that he was going upon some scheme to put the enemy in disorder.

It is said, that Crassus on that day did not appear in a purple robe, such as the Roman generals used to wear, but in a black one ; and when he perceived his mistake, he went and changed it. Some of the standards too were so rooted in the ground, that they could not be moved without the greatest efforts. Crassus only laughed at the omen, and hastened his march the more, making the foot keep up with the cavalry. Meantime the remains of a reconnoitring party returned, with an account that their comrades were killed by the Parthians, and that they had escaped with great difficulty. At the same time they assured him, that the enemy was advancing with very numerous forces, and in the highest spirits.

This intelligence spread great dismay among the troops, and Crassus was the most terrified of all. In his confusion he had scarce understanding enough about him to draw his army properly. At first, agreeably to the opinion of Cassius, he extended the front of his infantry so as to occupy a great space of ground, to prevent their being surrounded, and distributed the cavalry in the wings. But soon altering his mind, *he drew up the legions in a close square, and made a front every way, each front consisting of twelve cohorts ; every cohort had its troop of horse allotted it, that no part might remain unsupported by the cavalry, but that the whole might advance with equal security to the charge.* One of the wings was given to Cassius, the other to young Crassus, and the general placed himself in the centre.

In this order they moved forward, till they came to a river called

Balissus, which in itself was not considerable, but the sight of it gave pleasure to the soldiers, as well on account of their heat and thirst, as the fatigues of a march through a dry and sandy desert. Most of the officers were of opinion that they ought to pass the night there, and after having got the best intelligence they could of the number of the enemy and their order, advance against him at break of day. But Crassus, carried away by the eagerness of his son, and of the cavalry about him, who called upon him to lead them to the charge, commanded those who wanted refreshment to take it as they stood in their ranks. Before they had all done, he began his march, not leisurely and with proper pauses, as is necessary in going to battle, but with a quick and continued pace till they came in sight of the enemy, who appeared neither so numerous nor so formidable as they had expected. For Surena had concealed his main force behind the advanced guard, and to prevent their being discovered by the glittering of their armour, he had ordered them to cover it with their coats or with skins.

When both armies were near enough to engage, and the generals had given the signal, the field resounded with a horrid din and dreadful bellowing. For the Parthians do not excite their men to action with cornets and trumpets, but with certain hollow instruments covered with leather, and surrounded with brass bells, which they beat continually. The sound is deep and dismal, something between the howling of wild beasts and the crashing of thunder; and it was from sage reflection they had adopted it, having observed that of all the senses, that of hearing soonest disturbs the mind, agitates the passions, and unhinges the understanding.

While the Romans were trembling at the horrid noise, the Parthians suddenly uncovered their arms, and appeared like battalions of fire, with the gleam of their breastplates and their helmets of Margian steel polished to the greatest perfection. Their cavalry too, completely armed in brass and steel, shed a lustre no less striking. *At the head of them appeared Surena, tall and well made; but his feminine beauty did not promise such courage as he was possessed of. For he was dressed in the fashion of the Medes, with his face painted, and his hair curled and equally parted; while the rest of the Parthians wore their hair in great disorder, like the Scythians, to make themselves look more terrible.*

At first, the barbarians intended to have charged with their pikes, and opened a way through their foremost ranks; but when they saw the depth of the Roman battalions, the closeness of their order, and the firmness of their standing, they drew back, and, under the appearance of breaking their ranks and dispersing, wheeled about and surrounded the Romans. At that instant Crassus ordered his archers and light infantry to begin the charge. But they had not gone far before they were saluted with a shower of arrows, which came with such force and did so much execution, as drove them back upon the battalions. This was the beginning of disorder and consternation among the heavy-armed, when they beheld the force and the strength of the arrows, against which no

armour was proof, and whose keenness nothing could resist. The Parthians now separated, and began to exercise their artillery upon the Romans on all sides at a considerable distance; not needing to take an exact aim, by reason of the closeness and depth of the square in which their adversaries were drawn up. Their bows were large and strong, yet capable of bending till the arrows were drawn to the head; the force they went with was consequently very great and the wounds they gave mortal.

The Romans were now in a dreadful situation. If they stood still, they were pierced through; if they advanced, they could make no reprisals, and yet were sure to meet their fate. For the Parthians shoot as they fly; and this they do with dexterity inferior only to the Scythians. It is indeed an excellent expedient, because they save themselves by retiring, and, by fighting all the while, escape the disgrace of flight.

While the Romans had any hopes that the Parthians would spend all their arrows and quit the combat, or else advance hand to hand, they bore their distresses with patience. But as soon as it was perceived, that *behind the enemy there was a number of camels loaded with arrows, from whence the first ranks, after they emptied their quivers, were supplied*, Crassus, seeing no end to his sufferings, was greatly distressed. The step he took was to send orders to his son to get up with the enemy, and charge them, if possible, before he was quite surrounded; for it was principally against him that one wing of the Parthian cavalry directed their efforts, in hopes of taking him in the rear. Upon this, the young man took 1,300 horse, of which those he had from Cæsar made 1,500 archers, and eight cohorts of infantry which were next at hand, and wheeled about, to come to the charge. However, the Parthians, whether it was that they were afraid to meet a detachment that came against them in such good order, which some say was the case; or whether they wanted to draw young Crassus as far as they possibly could from his father, turned their backs and fled.¹ The young man cried out, *They dared not stand us*, and followed at full speed. So did Censorinus and Megabacchus;² the latter a man noted for his strength and courage, and the former, a person of senatorial dignity, and an excellent orator. Both were intimate friends of young Crassus, and nearly of his age.

The cavalry kept on, and such was the alacrity and spuit of hope with which the infantry were inspired, that they were not left behind; for they imagined they were only pursuing a conquered enemy. But they had not gone far before they found how much they were deceived. The pretended fugitives faced about, and, many others joining them, advanced to the encounter. The

¹ It was their common method, not to stand a pitched battle with troops that were in any degree their match. In retreating and advancing, as occasion required, they knew the advantage they had in the swiftness of their horses, and in the excellence of their archers.

² It is not easy to say what Roman name Menabacchus could be the corruption of. Aylender tells us he found in an old translation *Osei Pienens*. Probably that translator might have the authority of some manuscript.

Romans, upon this, made a stand, supposing the enemy would come to close quarters with them, because their number was but small. The Parthians, however, only formed a line of their heavy-armed cavalry opposite their adversaries, and then ordered their irregulars to gallop round, and beat up the sand and dust in such a manner, that the Romans could scarce either see or speak for the clouds of it. Besides, the latter were drawn up in so small a compass, and pressed so close upon each other, that they were a fair mark for the enemy. Their death too was lingering. They rolled about in agonies of pain with the arrows sticking in them, and before they died endeavoured to pull out the barbed points which were entangled within their veins and sinews : an effort that served only to enlarge their wounds and add to their torture.

Many died in this miserable manner, and those who survived were not fit for action. When Publius (young Crassus) desired them to attack the heavy-armed cavalry, they showed him their hands nailed to their shields, and their feet fastened to the ground, so that they could neither fight nor fly. He therefore encouraged his cavalry, and advanced with great vigour to the charge. But the dispute was by no means upon an equality, either in respect of attack or defence. For his men had only weak and short javelins to attack the *Parthian cuirasses, which were made either of raw hides or steel*; while the enemy's strong pikes could easily make an impression upon the naked or light-armed Gauls. These were the troops in which he placed his chief confidence, and indeed he worked wonders with them. They laid hold on the pikes of the barbarians, and grappling with them pulled them from their horses, and threw them on the ground, where they could scarce stir, by reason of the weight of their own armour. Many of them even quitted their own horses, and, getting under those of the Parthians, wounded them in the belly ; upon which the horses, mad with pain, plunged and threw their riders, and treading them under foot along with the enemy, at last fell down dead upon both. What went hardest against the Gauls was heat and thirst, for they had not been accustomed to either. And they lost most of their horses by advancing furiously against the enemy's pikes.

They had now no resource but to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who was much wounded. But happening to see a hill of sand by the way, they retired to it ; and having placed their horses in the middle, they locked their shields together all around, imagining that would prove the best defence against the barbarians. It happened, however, quite otherwise. While they were upon plain ground, the foremost rank afforded some shelter to those behind ; but upon an eminence, the unevenness of the ground showed one above another, and those behind higher than those before, so that there was no chance for any of them to escape ; they fell promiscuously, lamenting their inglorious fate, and the impossibility of exerting themselves to the last.

Young Crassus had with him two Greeks, named Hieronymus and Nicomachus, who had settled in that country in the town of

Carræ. These advised him to retire with them, and to make his escape to Ischnæ, a city which had adopted the Roman interests, and was at no great distance. But he answered, "*There was no death, however dreadful, the fear of which could make him leave so many brave men dying for his sake.*" At the same time he desired them to save themselves, and then embraced and dismissed them. *As his own hand was transfixed with an arrow, and he could not use it, he offered his side to his armour-bearer, and ordered him to strike the blow. Censorinus is said to have died in the same manner. As for Megabacchus, he despatched himself with his own hand, and the other principal officers followed his example.* The rest fell by the Parthian pikes, after they had defended themselves gallantly to the last. The enemy did not make above 500 prisoners.

When they had cut off the head of young Crassus, they marched with it to his father, whose affairs were in this posture. After he had ordered his son to charge the Parthians, news was brought him that they fled with great precipitation, and that the Romans pursued them with equal vivacity. He perceived also, that on his side the enemy's operations were comparatively feeble : for the greatest part of them were then gone after his son. Hereupon he recovered his spirits in some degree, and drew his forces back to some higher ground, expecting every moment his son's return from the pursuit.

Publius Crassus had sent several messengers to inform him of his danger ; but the first had fallen in with the barbarians, and were cut in pieces ; and the last having escaped with great difficulty, told him his son was lost, if he had not large and immediate succours. Crassus was so distracted by different passions that he could not form any rational scheme. On the one hand he was afraid of sacrificing the whole army, and on the other, anxious for the preservation of his son ; but at last he resolved to march to his assistance.

Meantime the enemy advanced with loud shouts and songs of victory, which made them appear more terrible ; and all the drums bellowing again in the ears of the Romans, gave them notice of another engagement. The Parthians coming forward with the head of Publius Crassus, on a spear, demanded, in the most contemptuous manner, whether they knew the family and parents of the young man. "*For," said they, "it is not possible that so brave and gallant a youth should be the son of Crassus, the greatest dastard and the meanest wretch in the world."*

This spectacle broke the spirits of the Romans more than all the calamities they had met with. Instead of exciting them to revenge, as might have been expected, it produced a horror and tremour which ran through the whole army. Nevertheless, Crassus, on this melancholy occasion, behaved with greater magnanimity than he had ever shown before. He marched up and down the ranks, and cried, "Romans, this loss is mine. The fortunes and glory of Rome stand safe and undiminished in you. If you have any pity for me, who am bereaved of the best of sons, show it in your resent-

ment against the enemy. Put an end to their triumph ; avenge their cruelty. Be not astonished at this loss ; they must always have something to suffer who aspire to great things. Lucullus did not pull down Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without some expense of blood. Our ancestors lost a thousand ships before they reduced Sicily, and many great officers and generals in Italy ; but no previous loss prevented their subduing the conquerors. *For it was not by her good fortune, but by the perseverance and fortitude with which she combated adversity that Rome has risen to her present height of power.*"

Crassus, though he thus endeavoured to animate his troops, did not find many listen to him with pleasure. He was sensible their depression still continued, when he ordered them to shout for the battle ; for their shout was feeble, languid, and unequal, while that of the barbarians was bold and strong. When the attack began, the light-armed cavalry taking the Romans in flank, galled them with their arrows ; while the heavy-armed charging them in front with their pikes, drove them into an narrow space. Some, indeed, to avoid a more painful death from the arrows, advanced with the resolution of despair, but did not much execution. All the advantage they had was, that they were speedily despatched by the large wounds they received from the broad heads of the enemy's strong pikes, which they pushed with such violence, that they often pierced through two men at once.¹

The fight continued in this manner all day ; and when the barbarians came to retire, they said, "They would give Crassus one night to bewail his son ; if he did not in the meantime consider better, and rather choose to go and surrender himself to Arsaces, than be carried." Then they sat down near the Roman army, and passed the night in great satisfaction, hoping to finish the affair the next day.

It was a melancholy and dreadful night to the Romans. They took no care to bury the dead, nor any notice of the wounded, many of whom were expiring in great agonies. Every man had his own fate to deplore. That fate appeared inevitable, whether they remained where they were, or threw themselves in the night into that boundless plain. They found a great objection, too, against retiring, in the wounded ; who would retard their flight, if they attempted to carry them off, and alarm the enemy with their cries, if they were left behind.

As for Crassus, though they believed him the cause of all their miseries, they wanted him to make his appearance and speak to them. But he had covered his head, chosen darkness for his companion, and stretched himself upon the ground. A sad example to the vulgar of the instability of fortune ; and to men of deeper thought, of the effects of rashness and ill placed ambition. Not contented with being the first and greatest among many millions of

¹ There is nothing incredible in this, for it is frequently done by the Tartars in the same mode of fighting at this day.

men, he had considered himself in a mean light, because there were two above him.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius, endeavoured to raise him from the ground and console him, but found that he gave himself entirely up to despair. They then, by their own authority, summoned the centurions and other officers to a council of war, in which it was resolved they should retire. Accordingly they began to do so without sound of trumpet, and silently enough at first. But when the sick and wounded perceived they were going to be deserted, their doleful cries and lamentations filled the whole army with confusion and disorder. Still greater terror seized them as they proceeded, the foremost troops imagining that those behind were enemies. They often missed their way, often stopped to put themselves in some order, or to take some of the wounded off the beasts of burden, and put others on. By these things they lost a great deal of time; insomuch that Ignatius only, who made the best of his way with 300 horse, arrived at Carræ about midnight. He saluted the guards in Latin, and when he perceived they heard him, he bade them go and tell Coponius, who commanded there, that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians. Then, without explaining himself farther, or acquainting them who he was, he made off as fast as possible to Zeugma; by which means he saved himself and his troop; but, at the same time, was much blamed for deserting his general.

However, Crassus found his advantage in the hint given to Coponius. That officer, considering that the hurry and confusion with which the message was delivered, betokened no good, ordered his men to arm, and as soon as he was apprized that Crassus was marching that way, he went out to meet him, and conducted his army into the town.

Though the Parthians in the night perceived the flight of the Romans, they did not pursue them; but at break of day they fell upon those that were left in the camp, and despatched them, to the number of 4,000. The cavalry also picked up many others who were straggling upon the plain. One of the Roman officers, named Varguntinus, who had wandered in the night from the main body with four cohorts, was found next morning posted upon a hill. The barbarians surrounded their little corps, and killed them all, except twenty men. These made their way through the enemy sword in hand, who let them pass, and they arrived safe at Carræ.

A rumour was now brought to Surena, that Crassus with the best of his officers and troops had escaped, and that those who had retired into Carræ, were only a mixed multitude, not worth his notice. He was afraid, therefore, that he had lost the fruits of his victory; but not being absolutely certain, he wanted better information, in order to determine whether he should besiege Carræ, or pursue Crassus, wherever he might have fled. For this purpose he despatched an interpreter to the walls, who was to call Crassus or Cassius in Latin, and tell them that Surena demanded a conference. As soon as the business of the interpreter was made

known to Crassus, he accepted the proposal. And not long after, certain Arabians arrived from the same quarter, who knew Crassus and Cassius well, having been in the Roman camp before the battle. These seeing Cassius upon the walls, told him, "Surena was ready to conclude a peace with them, on condition they would be upon terms of friendship with the king his master, and give up Mesopotamia; for he thought this more advantageous to both than coming to extremities." Cassius embraced the overture, and demanded that the time and place might be fixed for an interview between Surena and Crassus; which the Arabians undertook for, and then rode off.

Surena, delighted to find that the Romans were in a place where they might be besieged, led his Parthians against them the next day. These barbarians treated them with great insolence, and told them, if they wanted either peace or truce, they might deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound. The Romans, greatly afflicted at finding themselves so imposed upon, told Crassus he must give up his distant and vain hopes of succour from the Armenians, and resolve upon flight. This resolution ought to have been concealed from all the inhabitants of Carræ till the moment it was put in execution. But Crassus revealed it to Andromachus, one of the most perfidious amongst them, whom he also chose for his guide. From this traitor the Parthians learned every step that was taken.

As it was not their custom, nor consequently very practicable for them to fight in the night, and it was in the night that Crassus marched out, Andromachus contrived that they might not be far behind. With this view he artfully led the Romans sometimes one way, sometimes another, and at last entangled them among deep marshes and ditches, where it was difficult to get either forward or backward. There were several who conjectured from this shifting and turning, that Andromachus had some ill design, and therefore refused to follow him any farther. As for Cassius he returned to Carræ; and when his guides, who were Arabians, advised him to wait till the moon had passed the Scorpion, he answered, "I am more afraid of the Sagittary."¹ Then making the best of his way, he got into Assyria with 500 horse. Others finding faithful guides, reached the mountains of Sinnaca, and were perfectly secure, before it was light. These, about 5,000 in number, were under the conduct of Octavius, a man of great merit and honour.

Meantime day overtook Crassus, while, through the treachery of Andromachus, he was wandering on bogs and other impracticable ground. He had with him only four cohorts of infantry, a very small number of horse, and five lictors. At length he regained the road with much labour and difficulty: but by this time the enemy was coming up. He was not above twelve furlongs behind the corps under Octavius. However, as he could not join him, all he could

¹ Alluding to the Parthian archers.

do was to retire to a hill, not so secure against cavalry as Sinnaca, but situated under those mountains, and connected with them by a long ridge which ran through the plain. Octavius, therefore, could see the danger Crassus was in, and he immediately ran down with a small band to his assistance. Upon this, the rest, reproaching themselves for staying behind, descended from the heights, and falling upon the Parthians, drove them from the hill. Then they took Crassus in the midst of them, and fencing him with their shields, boldly declared, that no Parthian arrow should touch their general, while any of them were left alive.

Surena now perceiving that the Parthians were less vigorous in their attacks, and that if night came on, and the Romans gained the mountains they would be entirely out of his reach, formed a stratagem to get Crassus into his hands. He dismissed some of his prisoners after they had heard the conversation of the Parthian soldiers, who had been instructed to say, that the king did not want perpetual war with the Romans, but had rather renew the friendship and alliance by his generous treatment of Crassus. After this manœuvre, the barbarians withdrew from the combat, and Surena, with a few of his principal officers, advancing gently to the hill, where he unstrung his bow, and offering his hand, invited Crassus to an agreement. He said, "the king had hitherto, contrary to his inclinations, given proofs of his power, but now he would with pleasure show his moderation and clemency, in coming to terms with the Romans, and suffering them to depart in peace."

The troops received this proposal of Surena with joy. But Crassus, whose errors had all been owing to the Parthian treachery and deceit, and thought this sudden change in their behaviour a very suspicious circumstance, did not accept the overture, but stood deliberating. Hereupon, the soldiers raised a great outcry, and bade him go down. Then they proceeded to insults and reproaches, telling him, "He was very willing to expose them to the weapons of the Parthians, but did not dare to meet them himself, when they had laid down their arms, and wanted only a friendly conference."

At first he had recourse to entreaties, and represented, that if they would but hold out the remainder of the day, they might in the night gain the mountains and rocks, which would be inaccessible to cavalry. At the same time he pointed to the way, and begged them not to forego the hopes of safety when they had it so near. But when he found they received his address with anger, and clashing their arms in a menacing manner, he was terrified, and began to go; only turning round a moment to speak these few words, "*You, Octavius, and you, Petronius, and all you Roman officers that are present, are witnesses of the necessity I am under to take this step, and conscious of the dishonour and violence I suffer. But when you are safe, pray tell the world that I was deceived by the enemy, and not that I was abandoned by my countrymen.*"

However, Octavius and Petronius would not stay behind; they descended the hill with him. His lictors too would have followed, but he sent them back. The first persons that met him, on the part of the barbarians, were two Greeks of the half breed. They dismounted and made Crassus a low reverence, and addressing him in Greek, desired he would send some of his people to see that Surena and his company came unarmed, and without any weapons concealed about them. Crassus answered, "That if his life had been of any account with him, he should not have trusted himself in their hands." Nevertheless, he sent two brothers of the name of Roscius before him, to inquire upon what footing, and how many of each side were to meet. Surena detained those messengers, and advanced in person with his principal officers on horseback. "What is this," said he, "I behold? A Roman general on foot, when we are on horseback?" Then he ordered a horse to be brought for him. But Crassus answered, "There was no error on either side, since each came to treat after the manner of his country." Then said Surena, "From this moment there shall be peace and an alliance between Orodes and the Romans; but the treaty must be signed upon the banks of the Euphrates; for you Romans remember your agreements very ill." Then he offered him his hand; and when Crassus would have sent for a horse, he told him, "There was no need; the king would supply him with one." At the same time a horse was brought with furniture of gold, and the equeuries having mounted, Crassus began to drive him forward. Octavius then laid hold on the bridle; in which he was followed by Patronius, a legionary tribune. Afterwards the rest of the Romans who attended endeavoured to stop the horse, and to draw off those who pressed upon Crassus on each side. A scuffle and tumult ensued, which ended in blows. Thereupon Octavius drew his sword, and killed one of the Parthian grooms; and another coming behind, Octavius despatched him. Petronius, who had no arms to defend him, received a stroke on his breastplate, but leaped from his horse unwounded. Crassus was killed by a Parthian named Pomaxæthres:¹ though some say another despatched him, and Pomaxæthres cut off his head and right hand. Indeed, all these circumstances must be rather from conjecture than knowledge. For part of those who attended were slain in attempting to defend Crassus, and the rest had run up the hill on the first alarm.

After this, the Parthians went and addressed themselves to the troops at the top. They told them, Crassus had met with the reward his injustice deserved; but, as for them, Surena desired they would come down boldly, for they had nothing to fear. Upon this promise some went down and surrendered themselves. Others attempted to get off in the night; but very few of those escaped. The rest were hunted by the Arabians, and either taken or put to

¹ Appian calls him Maxæthres, and in some copies of Ptolemy he is called Axæthres.

the sword. It is said, that in all there were 20,000 killed, and 10,000 made prisoners.

Surena sent the head and hand to Orodes in Armenia ; notwithstanding which he ordered his messengers to give it out at Seleucia, that he was bringing Crassus alive. Pursuant to this report, he prepared a kind of mock procession, which, by way of ridicule, he called triumph. *Caius Pacianus, who of all the prisoners most resembled Crassus, was dressed in a rich robe in the Parthian fashion, and instructed to answer to the name of Crassus and title of general. Thus accoutred, he marched on horseback at the head of the Romans. Before him marched the trumpets and lictors, mounted upon camels. Upon the rods were suspended empty purses, and, on the axes, heads of the Romans newly cut off. Behind came the Seleucian courtesans with music, singing scurrilous and farcical songs upon the effeminacy and cowardice of Crassus.*

These things were to amuse the populace. But after the farce was over, Surena assembled the senate of Seleucia, and produced the obscene books of Aristides, called *Milesiads*. Nor was this a groundless invention to blacken the Romans. For the books being really found in the baggage of Rustius,¹ gave Surena an excellent opportunity to say many sharp and satirical things of the Romans, who, even in the time of war, could not refrain from such libidinous actions and abominable books.

This scene put the Seleucians in mind of the wise remark of Æsop. They saw Surena had put the Milesian obscenities in the forepart of the wallet, and behind they beheld a Parthian Sybaris,² with a long train of carriages full of harlots : inasmuch that his army resembled the serpents called *scytale*. Pierce and formidable in its head, it presented nothing but pikes, artillery, and war horses ; while the tail ridiculously enough exhibited prostitutes, musical instruments, and nights spent in singing and riot with those women. Rustius undoubtedly was to blame ; but it was an impudent thing in the Parthians to censure the *Milesiads*, when many of the Arsacidæ who filled the throne were sons of Milesian or Ionian courtesans.

During these transactions, Orodes was reconciled to Artavasdes the Armenian, and had agreed to a marriage between that prince's sister and his son Pacorus. On this occasion they freely went to each others' entertainments, in which many of the Greek tragedies were presented. For Orodes was not unversed in the Grecian literature ; and Artavasdes had written tragedies himself, as well as orations and histories, some of which are still extant. In one of these entertainments, while they were yet at table, the head of Crassus was brought to the door. Jason, a tragedian of the city of Tralles, was rehearsing the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, and the tragical adventures of Pentheus and Agave. All the company were expressing their admiration of the pieces, when Sillaces entering the

¹ One of the P-dol-eu manuscripts has *it Rustius*.

² Sybaris was a town in Lucania famous for its luxury and effeminacy.

apartment prostrated himself before the king, and laid the head of Crassus at his feet. The Parthians welcomed it with acclamations of joy, and the attendants, by the king's order, placed Sillaces at the table. Hereupon, Jason gave one of the actors the habit of Pentheus, in which he had appeared, and putting on that of Agave, with the frantic air and all the enthusiasm of a Bacchanal, sung that part, where Agave presents the head of Pentheus upon her thyrsus, fancying it to be that of a young lion—

Well are our toils repaid : On yonder mountain
We pierced the lordly savage.

Finding the company extremely delighted, he went on—

The Chorus asks, " Who gave the glorious blow ?"
Agave answers, " Mine, mine is the prize."

Pomaxæthres, who was sitting at the table, upon hearing this started up, and would have taken the head from Jason, insisting that that part belonged to him, and not to the actor. The king, highly diverted, made Pomaxæthres the presents usual on such occasions, and rewarded Jason with a talent. The expedition of Crassus was a real tragedy, and such was the *exordium*,¹ or farce after it.

However, the Divine Justice punished Orodes for his cruelty, and Surena for his perjury. Orodes, envying the glory Surena had acquired, put him to death soon after. And that prince, having lost his son Pacorus in a battle with the Romans, fell into a languishing disorder which turned to a dropsy. His second son Phraates took the opportunity to give him aconite. But finding the poison worked only upon the watery humour, and was carrying off the disease with it, he took a shorter method, and strangled him with his own hands.²

1 Exordium, in its original sense, signified the unravelling of the plot, the catastrophe of a tragedy; and it retained that sense among the Greeks. But when the Romans began to set their light satirical pieces (of which they had always been very fond) after their tragedies, they applied the term to those pieces.

2 There have been more execrable characters, but there is not, perhaps, in the history of mankind, one more contemptible than that of Crassus. His ruling passion was the most sordid lust of wealth, and the whole of his conduct, political, popular, and military, was subservient to this. If at any time he gave into public munificence, it was with him no more than a species of commerce. By thus treating the people, he was laying out his money in the purchase of provinces. When Syria fell to his lot, the transports he discovered sprung not from the great ambition of carrying the Roman eagles over the east: they were nothing more than the joy of a miser, when he stumbles upon a hidden

treasure. Dazzled with the prospect of barbarian gold, he grasped with eagerness a command for which he had no adequate capacity. We find him embarrassed by the slightest difficulties in his military operations, and, when his obstinacy would permit him, taking his measures from the advice of his lieutenants. We look with indignation on the Roman squadrons standing, by his dispositions, as a mark for the Parthian archers, and incapable of acting either on the offensive or defensive. The Romans could not be ignorant of the Parthian method of attacking and retreating, when they had before spent so much time in Armenia. The fame of their cavalry could not be unknown in a country where it was so much dreaded. It was, therefore, the first business of the Roman general to avoid those countries which might give them any advantage in the equestrian action. But the hot scent of eastern treasure made him a dupe even to the policy of the barbarians, and to arrive at this the nearest way, he sacrificed the lives of 80,000 Romans.

POMPEY.

THE people of Rome appear, from the first, to have been affected towards Pompey, much in the same manner as Prometheus, in Æschylus, was towards Hercules, when after that hero had delivered him from his chains, he says,

*The sire I hated, but the son I love.*¹

For never did the Romans entertain a stronger and more rancorous hatred for any general than for Strabo, the father of Pompey. While he lived, indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a soldier, for he had great talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a stroke of lightning, they dragged his corpse from the bier, on the way to the funeral pile, and treated it with the greatest indignity. On the other hand, no man ever experienced from the same Romans an attachment more early begun, more disinterested in all the stages of his prosperity, or more constant and faithful in the decline of his fortune, than Pompey.

The sole cause of their aversion to the father was his insatiable avarice; but there were many causes of their affection for the son; his temperate way of living, his application to martial exercises, his eloquent and persuasive address, his strict honour and fidelity, and the easiness of access to him upon all occasions; for no man was ever less importunate in asking favours, or more gracious in conferring them. When he gave, it was without arrogance; and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth he had a very engaging countenance, which spoke for him before he opened his lips. Yet that grace of aspect was not unattended with dignity, and amidst his youthful bloom there was a venerable and princely air. His hair naturally curled a little before; which, together with the shining moisture and quick turn of his eye, produced a stronger likeness of Alexander the Great than that which appeared in the statues of that prince. So that some seriously gave him the name of Alexander, and he did not refuse it; others applied it to him by way of ridicule. And Lucius Philippus,² a man of consular dignity, as he was one day pleading for him, said, "It was no wonder if Philip was a lover of Alexander."

We are told that Flora, the courtesan, took a pleasure, in her old age, in speaking of the commerce she had with Pompey; and she used to say, she could never quit his embraces without giving

¹ Of the tragedy of *Prometheus Released*, from which this line is taken, we have only some fragments remaining. Jupiter had chained Prometheus to the rocks of Caucasus, and Hercules, the son of Jupiter, released him.

² Lucius Marcus Philippus, one of the greatest orators of his time. He was father-in-law to Augustus, having married his mother Attila. Horace speaks of him. *Nb.* l. ep. 7.

him a bite. She added, that Geminus, one of Pompey's acquaintance, had a passion for her, and gave her much trouble with his solicitations. At last, she told him she could not consent on account of Pompey. Upon which he applied to Pompey for his permission, and he gave it him, but never approached her afterwards, though he seemed to retain a regard for her. She bore the loss of him, not with the slight uneasiness of a prostitute, but was long sick through sorrow and regret. It is said that Flora was so celebrated for her beauty and fine bloom that when Cæcilius Metellus adorned the temple of Castor and Pollux with statues and paintings, he gave her picture a place among them.

Demetrius, one of Pompey's freedmen, who had great interest with him, and who died worth four thousand talents, had a wife of irresistible beauty. Pompey, on that account, behaved to her with less politeness than was natural to him, that he might not appear to be caught by her charms. But though he took his measures with so much care and caution in this respect, he could not escape the censure of his enemies, who accused him of a commerce with married women, and said he often neglected, or gave up points essential to the public, to gratify his mistresses.

As to the simplicity of his diet, there is a remarkable saying of his upon record. In a great illness, when his appetite was almost gone, the physician ordered him a thrush. His servants, upon inquiry, found there was not one to be had for money, for the season was past. They were informed, however, that Lucullus had them all the year in his menageries. This being reported to Pompey, he said, "Does Pompey's life depend upon the luxury of Lucullus?" Then, without any regard to the physician, he ate something that was easy to be had.

While he was very young, and served under his father, who was carrying on the war against Cinna,¹ one Lucius Terentius was his comrade, and they slept in the same tent. This Terentius, gained by Cinna's money, undertook to assassinate Pompey, while others set fire to the general's tent. Pompey got information of this when he was at supper, and it did not put him in the least confusion. He drank more freely, and caressed Terentius more than usual; but when they were to have gone to rest, he stole out of the tent, and went and planted a guard about his father. This done, he waited quietly for the event. Terentius, as soon as he thought Pompey was asleep, drew his sword, and stabbed the coverlets of the bed in many places, imagining that he was in it.

Immediately after this, there was a great mutiny in the camp. The soldiers who hated their general, were determined to go over to the enemy, and began to strike their tents and take up their arms. The general, dreading the tumult, did not dare to make his appearance. But Pompey was everywhere; he begged of them with

¹ In the year of Rome 686. And as Pompey was born the same year with Cæsar, viz., in the year of Rome 647, he

must, in this war with Cinna, have been nineteen years old.

tears to stay, and at last threw himself upon his face in the gateway. There he lay weeping, and bidding them if they would go out, tread upon him. Upon this, they were ashamed to proceed, and all, except 800, returned and reconciled themselves to their general.

After the death of Strabo, a charge was laid that he had converted the public money to his own use, and Pompey, as his heir, was obliged to answer it. Upon inquiry, he found that Alexander, one of the entranced slaves, had secreted most of the money; and he took care to inform the magistrates of the particulars. He was accused, however, himself, of having taken some hunting-nets and books out of the spoils of Asculum; and, it is true, his father gave them to him when he took the place; but he lost them at the return of Cinna to Rome, when that general's creatures broke into and pillaged his house. In this affair he maintained the combat well with his adversary at the bar, and showed an acuteness and firmness above his years; which gained him so much applause that Antistius, the prætor, who had the hearing of the cause, conceived an affection for him, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The proposal accordingly was made to his friends. Pompey accepted it; and the treaty was concluded privately. The people, however had some notion of the thing from the pains which Antistius took for Pompey; and at last, when he pronounced the sentence, in the name of all the judges, by which Pompey was acquitted, the multitude as it were, upon a signal given, broke out in the whole marriage acclamation of *Talasio*.

The origin of the term is said to have been this. When the principal Romans seized the daughters of the Sabines, who were come to see the games they were celebrating to entrap them, some herdsmen and shepherds laid hold of a virgin remarkably tall and handsome; and, lest she should be taken from them, as they carried her off, they cried all the way they went *Talasio*. Talasius was a young man, universally beloved and admired; therefore all who heard them, delighted with the intention, joined in the cry, and accompanied them with plaudits. They tell us, the marriage of Talasius proved fortunate, and thence all bridegrooms, by way of mirth, were welcomed with that acclamation. This is the most probable account I can find of the term.

Pompey in a little time married Antistia, and afterwards repaired to Cinna's camp. But finding some unjust charges laid against him there, he took the first private opportunity to withdraw. As he was nowhere to be found, a rumour prevailed in the army, that Cinna had put the young man to death; upon which numbers who hated Cinna, and could no longer bear with his cruelties, attacked his quarters. He fled for his life; and being overtaken by one of the inferior officers, who pursued him with a drawn sword, he fell upon his knees, and offered him his ring, which was of no small value. The officer answered, with great ferocity, "I am not come to sign a contract, but to punish an impious and lawless tyrant," and then killed him upon the spot.

Such was the end of Cinna : after whom Carbo, a tyrant still more savage, took the reins of government. It was not long, however, before Sylla returned to Italy, to the great satisfaction of most of the Romans, who, in their present unhappy circumstances, thought the change of their master no small advantage. *To such a desperate state had their calamities brought them, that no longer hoping for liberty, they sought only the most tolerable servitude.*

At that time Pompey was in the Picene, whither he had retired partly because he had lands there, but more on account of an old attachment which the cities in that district had to his family. As he observes that the best and most considerable of the citizens left their houses, and took refuge in Sylla's camp as in a port, he resolved to do the same. At the same time he thought it did not become him to go like a fugitive who wanted protection, but rather in a respectable manner at the head of an army. He therefore tried what levies he could make in the Picene,¹ and the people readily repaired to his standard ; rejecting the applications of Carbo. On this occasion, one Vindius happening to say, "Pompey is just come from under the hands of the pedagogue, and all on a sudden is become a demagogue among you," they were so provoked, that they fell upon him and cut him in pieces.

Thus Pompey, at the age of twenty-three, without a commission from any superior authority, erected himself into a general ; and having placed his tribunal in the most public part of the great city of Auximum, by a former decree commanded the Vedtini, two brothers who opposed him in behalf of Carbo, to depart the city. He enlisted soldiers ; he appointed tribunes, centurions, and other officers, according to the established custom. He did the same in all the neighbouring cities ; for the partisans of Carbo retired and gave place to him, and the rest were glad to range themselves under his banners. So that in a little time he raised three complete legions, and furnished himself with provisions, beasts of burden, carriages ; in short, with the whole apparatus of war.

In this form he moved towards Sylla, not by hasty marches, nor as if he wanted to conceal himself ; for he stopped by the way to harass the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo all the parts of Italy through which he passed. At last, three generals of the opposite party, Carinna, Cœlius and Brutus, came against him all at once, not in front, or in one body, but they hemmed him in with their three armies, in hopes to demolish him entirely.

Pompey, far from being terrified, assembled all his forces, and charged the army of Brutus at the head of his cavalry. The Gaulish horse on the enemy's side sustained the first shock ; but Pompey attacked the foremost of them, who was a man of prodigious strength, and brought him down with a push of his spear. The rest immediately fled and threw the infantry into such disorder that the whole was soon put to flight. This produced so great a quarrel among the three generals, that they parted and took separate

¹ Now the March of Ancona.

routes. In consequence of which, the cities, concluding that the fears of the enemy had made them part, adopted the interest of Pompey.

Not long after, Scipio the consul advanced to engage him. But before the infantry were near enough to discharge their lances, Scipio's soldiers saluted those of Pompey, and came over to them. Scipio, therefore, was forced to fly. At last Carbo sent a large body of cavalry against Pompey, near the river Arsis. He gave them so warm a reception, that they were soon broken, and in the pursuit drove them upon impracticable ground ; so that finding it impossible to escape, they surrendered themselves with their arms and horses.

Sylla had not yet been informed of these transactions ; but upon the first news of Pompey's being engaged with so many adversaries, and such respectable generals, he dreaded the consequence, and marched with all expedition to his assistance. Pompey, having intelligence of his approach, ordered his officers to see that the troops were armed and drawn up in such a manner as to make the handsomest and most gallant appearance before the commander-in-chief. For he expected great honours from him, and he obtained greater. Sylla no sooner saw Pompey advancing to meet him, with an army in excellent condition, both as to age and size of the men, and the spirits which success had given them, than he alighted ; and upon being saluted of course by Pompey as *imperator*, he returned his salutation with the same title : though no one imagined that he would have honoured a young man, nor yet admitted into the senate, with a title for which he was contending with the Scipios and the Marii. The rest of his behaviour was as respectable as that in the first interview. He used to rise up and uncover his head, whenever Pompey came to him ; which he was rarely observed to do for any other, though he had a number of persons of distinction about him.

Pompey was not elated with these honours. On the contrary, when Sylla wanted to send him into Gaul, where Metellus had done nothing worthy of the forces under his directions, he said, "It was not right to take the command from a man who was his superior both in age and character ; but if Metellus should desire his assistance in the conduct of the war, it was at his service." Metellus accepted the proposal, and wrote to him to come ; whereupon he entered Gaul, and not only signalised his own valour and capacity, but excited once more the spirit of adventure in Metellus, which was almost extinguished with age : just as brass in a state of fusion is said to melt a cold plate sooner than fire itself. But as it is not usual, when a champion has distinguished himself in the lists, and gained the prize in all the games, to record or to take any notice of the performances of his younger years ; so the actions of Pompey, in this period, though extraordinary in themselves, yet being eclipsed by the number and importance of his later expeditions, I shall forbear to mention, lest, by dwelling upon his first essays, I should not leave myself room for those greater and more critical events which mark his character and turn of mind.

After Sylla had made himself master of Italy, and was declared

dictator, he rewarded his principal officers with riches and honours ; making them liberal grants of whatever they applied for. But he was most struck with the excellent qualities of Pompey, and was persuaded that he owed more to his services than those of any other man. He therefore resolved, if possible, to take him into his alliance ; and, as his wife Metella was perfectly of his opinion, they persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia, and to marry Æmilia, the daughter-in-law of Sylla, whom Metella had by Scæurus, and who was at that time pregnant by another marriage.

Nothing could be more tyrannical than this new contract. It was suitable, indeed, to the times of Sylla, but it ill became the character of Pompey to take Æmilia, pregnant as she was, from another, and bring her into his house, and at the same time to repudiate Antistia, distressed as she must be for a father whom she had lately lost, on account of this cruel husband. For Antistius was killed in the senate-house, because it was thought his regard for Pompey had attached him to the cause of Sylla. And her mother, upon this divorce, laid violent hands upon herself. This was an additional scene of misery in that tragical marriage ; as was also the fate of Æmilia in Pompey's house, who died there in childbed.

Soon after this, Sylla received an account that Perpenna had made himself master of Sicily, where he afforded an asylum to the party which opposed the reigning powers. Carbo was hovering with a fleet about that island ; Domitius had entered Africa ; and many other persons of great distinction, who had escaped the fury of the proscriptions by flight, had taken refuge there. Pompey was sent against them with a considerable armament. He soon forced Perpenna to quit the island ; and having recovered the cities, which had been much harassed by the armies that were there before him, he behaved to them all with great humanity, except the Mamertines, who were seated in Messina. That people had refused to appear before his tribunal, and to acknowledge his jurisdiction, alleging, that they stood excused by an ancient privilege granted to them by the Romans. He answered, "*Will you never have done with citing laws and privileges to men who wear swords ?*" His behaviour, too, to Carbo, in his misfortunes, appeared inhuman. For, if it was necessary, as perhaps it was, to put him to death, he should have done it immediately, and then it would have been the work of him that gave orders for it. But, instead of that, he caused a Roman, who had been honoured with three consulships, to be brought in chains before his tribunal, where he sat in judgment on him, to the regret of all the spectators, and ordered him to be led off to execution. When they were carrying him off, and he beheld the sword drawn, he was so much disordered at it, that he was forced to beg a moment's respite, and a private place for the necessities of nature.

Caius Oppius,¹ the friend of Cæsar, writes, that Pompey like-

¹ The same who wrote an account of the Spanish war. He was also a biographer ; but his works of that kind are lost.

He was mean enough to write a treatise to shew that Cæsar was not the son of Cæsar.

wise treated Quintus Valerius with inhumanity. For, knowing him to be a man of letters, and that few were to be compared to him in point of knowledge, he took him aside, and after he had walked with him till he had satisfied himself upon several points of learning, commanded his servants to take him to the block. But we must be very cautious how we give credit to Oppius, when he speaks of the friends and enemies of Cæsar. Pompey, indeed, was under the necessity of punishing the principal enemies of Sylla, particularly when they were taken publicly. But others he suffered to escape, and even assisted some in getting off.

He had resolved to chastise the Himereans for attempting to support his enemies, when the orator Sthenis told him, "He would act unjustly, if he passed by the person that was guilty, and punished the innocent." Pompey asked him, "Who was the guilty person?" and he answered, "I am the man. I persuaded my friends, and compelled my enemies, to take the measures they did." Pompey, delighted with his frank confession and noble spirit, forgave him first, and afterwards all the people of Himera. Being informed that his soldiers committed great disorders in their excursions, *he sealed up their swords*, and if any of them broke the seal, he took care to have them punished.

While he was making these and other regulations in Sicily, he received a decree of the senate, and letters from Sylla, in which he was commanded to cross over to Africa and to carry on the war with the utmost vigour, against Domitius, who had assembled a much more powerful army than that which Marius carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himself master of Rome, and of a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey soon finished his preparations for this expedition; and leaving the command in Sicily to Memmius, his sister's husband, he set sail with 120 armed vessels, and 800 storeships, laden with provisions, arms, money, and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica, and part at Carthage: immediately after which 7,000 of the enemy came over to him; and he had brought with him six legions complete.

On his arrival he met with a whimsical adventure. Some of his soldiers, it seems, found a treasure, and shared considerable sums. The thing getting air, the rest of the troops concluded, that the place was full of money, which the Carthaginians had hid there in some time of public distress. Pompey, therefore, could make no use of them for several days, as they were searching for treasures; and he had nothing to do but walk about and amuse himself with the sight of so many thousands digging and turning up the ground. At last, they gave up the point, and bade him lead them wherever he pleased, for they were sufficiently punished for their folly.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and put his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, craggy and difficult to pass. In the morning it began, moreover, to rain, and the wind blew violently; insomuch that Domitius, not imagining there would be any action that day, ordered his army to retire.

But Pompey looked upon this as his opportunity, and he passed the defile with the utmost expedition. The enemy stood upon their defence, but it was in a disorderly and tumultuous manner, and the resistance they made was neither general nor uniform. Besides, the wind and rain beat in their faces. The storm incommoded the Romans too, for they could not well distinguish each other. Nay, Pompey himself was in danger of being killed by a soldier, who asked him the word, and received not a speedy answer.—At length, however, he routed the enemy with great slaughter; not above 3000 of them escaping out of twenty thousand. The soldiers then saluted Pompey *imperator*, but he said he would not accept that title while the enemy's camp stood untouched; therefore, if they chose to confer such an honour upon him, they must first make themselves masters of the entrenchments.

At that instant they advanced with great fury against them. Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of such an accident as he had just escaped. The camp was taken, and Domitius slain; in consequence of which most of the cities immediately submitted, and the rest were taken by assault. He took Jarbas, one of the confederates of Domitius, prisoner, and bestowed his crown on Hiempsal. Advancing with the same tide of fortune, and while his army had all the spirits inspired by success, he entered Numidia, in which he continued his march for several days, and subdued all that came in his way. Thus he revived the terror of the Roman name, which the barbarians had begun to disregard. Nay, he chose not to leave the savage beasts in the deserts without giving them a specimen of the Roman valour and success. Accordingly he spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. The whole time he passed in Africa, was not above forty days; in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the whole country, and brought the affairs of its kings under proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

Upon his return to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, in which he was ordered to send home the rest of his army, and to wait there with one legion only, for a successor. This gave him a great deal of uneasiness, which he kept to himself, but the army expressed their indignation aloud; insomuch that when he entreated them to return to Italy, they launched out into abusive terms against Sylla, and declared they would never abandon Pompey, or suffer him to trust a tyrant. At first he endeavoured to pacify them with mild representations: and when he found those had no effect, he descended from the tribunal, and retired to his tent in tears. However, they went and took him thence, and placed him again upon the tribunal where they spent great part of the day; they insisting that he should stay and keep the command, and he in persuading them to obey Sylla's orders, and to form no new faction. At last, seeing no end of their clamours and importunity, he assured them, with an oath, "That he would kill himself, if they attempted to force him." And even this hardly brought them to desist.

The first news that Sylla heard of was, that Pompey had revolted,

upon which he said to his friends, "Then it is my fate to have to contend with boys in my old age." This he said, because Marius, who was very young, had brought him into so much trouble and danger. But when he received true information of the affair, and observed that all the people flocked out to receive him, and to conduct him home with marks of great regard, he resolved to exceed them in his regards, if possible. He, therefore, hastened to meet him, and embracing him in the most affectionate manner, saluted him aloud by the surname of *Magnus*, or *the Great*, at the same time he ordered all about him to give him the same appellation. Others say, it was given him by the whole army in Africa, but did not generally obtain till it was authorised by Sylla. It is certain, he was the last to take it himself, and he did not make use of it till a long time after, when he was sent into Spain with the dignity of pro-consul against Sertorius. Then he began to write himself in his letters and in all his edicts, *Pompey the Great*: for the world was accustomed to the name, and it was no longer invidious. In this respect we may justly admire the wisdom of the ancient Romans, who bestowed on their great men such honourable names and titles, not only for military achievements, but for the great qualities and arts which adorn civil life. Thus the people gave the surname of *Maximus* to Valerius,¹ for reconciling them to the senate after a violent dissension, and to Fabius Rullus for expelling some persons descended of enfranchised slaves,² who had been admitted into the senate on account of their opulent fortunes.

When Pompey arrived at Rome, he demanded a triumph, in which he was opposed by Sylla. The latter alleged, That the laws did not allow that honour to any person who was not either consul or prætor.³ Hence it was that the first Scipio, when he returned victorious from greater wars and conflicts with the Carthaginians in Spain, did not demand a triumph; for he was neither consul nor prætor. He added, "That if Pompey, who was yet little better than a beardless youth, and who was not of age to be admitted into the senate, should enter the city in triumph, it would bring an *odium* both upon the dictator's power, and those honours of his friend." These arguments Sylla insisted on, to show him he would not allow of his triumph, and that, in case he persisted, he would chastise his obstinacy.

Pompey, not in the least intimidated, bade him consider, "That more worshipped the rising than the setting sun;" intimating that his power was increasing, and Sylla's upon the decline. Sylla did not well hear what he said, but perceiving by the looks and gestures of the company that they were struck with the expression,

¹ This was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Valerius Publicola, who was dictator.

² It was not his expelling the descendants of enfranchised slaves from the senate, nor yet his glorious victories, which procured Fabius the surname of *Maximus*; but his reducing the populace of Rome into four tribes who before were dispersed among

all the tribes, and by that means had too much influence in elections and other public affairs. These were called *tribus urbanae*. Liv. ix. 40.

³ Livy (Lib. xxxi.) tells us the senate refused L. Cornellius Lentulus a triumph, for the same reason, though they thought his achievements worthy of that honour.

he asked what it was. When he was told it he admired the spirit of Pompey and cried, "Let him triumph! Let him triumph!"

As Pompey perceived a strong spirit of envy and jealousy on this occasion, it is said, that to mortify those who gave into it the more, *he resolved to have his chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought a number from Africa, which he had taken from the kings of that country. But finding the gate too narrow, he gave up that design, and contented himself with horses.*

His soldiers, not having obtained all they expected, were inclined to disturb the procession; but he took no pains to satisfy them: he said, "He had rather give up his triumph than submit to flatter them." Whereupon Servilius, one of the most considerable men in Rome, and one who had been most vigorous in opposing the triumph, declared, "He now found Pompey really *the Great*, and worthy of a triumph."

There is no doubt that he might then have been easily admitted a senator, if he had desired it; but his ambition was to pursue honour in a more uncommon track. It would have been nothing strange, if Pompey had been a senator before the age fixed for it; but *it was a very extraordinary instance of honour to lead up a triumph before he was a senator.* And it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of the multitude; the people were delighted to see him, after his triumph, class with the equestrian order.

Sylla was not without uneasiness at finding him advance so fast in reputation and power; yet he could not think of preventing it, till, with a high hand, and entirely against his will, Pompey raised Lepidus¹ to the consulship, by assisting him with all his interest in the election. Then Sylla, seeing him conducted home by the people, through the *forum*, thus addressed him; "I see, young man, you are proud of your victory. And undoubtedly it was a great and extraordinary thing, by your management of the people, to obtain for Lepidus, the worst man in Rome, the return before Catulus, one of the worthiest and the best. But awake, I charge you, and be upon your guard. For you have now made your adversary stronger than yourself."

The displeasure Sylla entertained in his heart against Pompey appeared most plainly by his will. He left considerable legacies to his friends, and appointed them guardians to his son, but he never once mentioned Pompey. The latter, notwithstanding, bore this with great temper and moderation; and when Lepidus and others opposed his being buried in the *Campus Martius*, and his having the honours of a public funeral, he interposed, and by his presence not only secured, but did honour to the procession.

Sylla's predictions were verified soon after his death. Lepidus wanted to usurp the authority of a dictator; and his proceedings were not indirect, or veiled with specious pretences. He immedi-

¹ Marcus Anullius Lepidus, who by Pompey's interest was declared consul

with Q. Lutatius Catulus, in the year of Rome 675.

ately took up arms, and assembled the disaffected remains of the factions which Sylla could not entirely suppress. As for his colleague Catulus, the uncorrupted part of the senate and people were attached to him, and in point of prudence and justice, there was not a man in Rome who had a greater character; but he was more able to direct the civil government than the operations of war. This crisis, therefore, called for Pompey, and he did not deliberate which side he should take. He joined the honest party, and was declared general against Lepidus, who by this time had reduced great part of Italy, and was master of Cisalpine Gaul, where Brutus acted for him with a considerable force.

When Pompey took the field, he easily made his way in other parts; but he lay a long time before Mutina, which was defended by Brutus. Meanwhile Lepidus advanced by hasty marches to Rome, and sitting down before it, demanded a second consulship. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed at his numbers; but their fears were dissipated by a letter from Pompey, in which he assured them, he had terminated the war without striking a blow. For Brutus, whether he betrayed his army, or they betrayed him, surrendered himself to Pompey; and having a party of horse given him as an escort, retired to a little town upon the Po. Pompey, however, sent Geminius the next day to despatch him; which brought no small stain upon his character. Immediately after Brutus came over to him, he had informed the senate by letter, it was a measure that general had voluntarily adopted; and yet on the morrow he put him to death, and wrote other letters, containing heavy charges against him. This was the father of that Brutus, who, together with Cassius, slew Cæsar. But the son did not resemble the father, either in war or in his death, as appears from the life we have given of him. Lepidus, being soon driven out of Italy, fled into Sardinia, where he died of grief, not in consequence of the ruin of his affairs, but of meeting with a billet (as we are told,) by which he discovered that his wife had dishonoured his bed.

At that time, Sertorius, an officer very different from Lepidus, was in possession of Spain, and not a little formidable to Rome itself; all the remains of the civil wars being collected in him, just as in a dangerous disease all the vicious humours flow to a distempered part. He had already defeated several generals of less distinction, and he was then engaged with Metellus Pius, a man of great character in general, and particularly in war; but age seemed to have abated that vigour which is necessary for seizing and making the best advantage of critical occasions. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the ardour and expedition with which Sertorius snatched those opportunities from him. He came on in the most daring manner, and more like a captain of a *banditti* than a commander of regular forces; annoying with ambuscades, and other unforeseen alarms, a champion who proceeded by the common rules, and whose skill lay in the management of heavy-armed forces.

At this juncture, Pompey, having an army without employment,

endeavoured to prevail with the senate to send him to the assistance of Metellus. Meantime, Catulus ordered him to disband his forces ; but he found various pretences for remaining in arms in the neighbourhood of Rome ; till, at last, upon the motion of Lucius Philippus, he obtained the command he wanted. On this occasion one of the senators, somewhat surprised at the motion, asked him who made it, whether his meaning was to send out Pompey [*pro consule*] as the representative of a consul? "No," answered he, "but [*pro consulibus*] as the representative of both consuls ;" intimating by this the incapacity of the consuls of that year.

When Pompey arrived in Spain, new hopes were excited, as is usual upon the appearance of a new general of reputation ; and such of the Spanish nation as were not very firmly attached to Sertorius, began to change their opinions, and to go over to the Romans. Sertorius then expressed himself in a very insolent and contemptuous manner with respect to Pompey : he said, "He should want no other weapons than a rod and ferula to chastise the boy with, were it not that he feared the old woman ;" meaning Metellus. But in fact it was Pompey he was afraid of, and on his account he carried on his operations with much greater caution. For Metellus gave into a course of luxury and pleasure, which no one could have expected, and changed the simplicity of a soldier's life for a life of pomp and parade. Hence *Pompey gained additional honour and interest : for he cultivated plainness and frugality more than ever ;* though he had not, in that respect, much to correct in himself, being naturally sober and regular in his desires.

The war appeared in many forms ; but nothing touched Pompey so nearly as the loss of Lauron, which Sertorius took before his eyes. Pompey thought he had blocked up the enemy, and spoke of it in high terms, when suddenly he found himself surrounded, and being afraid to move, had the mortification to see the city laid in ashes in his presence. However, in an engagement near Valencia, he defeated Herennius and Perpenna, officers of considerable rank, who had taken part with Sertorius, and acted as his lieutenants, and killed above 10,000 of their men.

Elated with this advantage, he hastened to attack Sertorius, that Metellus might have no share in the victory. He found him near the river Sucro, and they engaged near the close of day. Both were afraid Metellus should come up ; Pompey wanting to fight alone, and Sertorius to have but one general to fight with. The issue of the battle was doubtful ; one wing in each army being victorious. But of the two generals Sertorius gained the greatest honour, for he routed the battalions that opposed him. As for Pompey, he was attacked on horseback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of uncommon size. While they were close engaged with their swords, the strokes happened to light on each other's hand, but with different success ; Pompey received only a slight wound, and he lopped off the other's hand. Numbers then fell upon Pompey, for his troops in that quarter were already broken : but he escaped beyond all expectation, by quitting his horse, with

gold trappings and other valuable furniture, to the barbarians, who quarrelled and came to blows about dividing the spoil.

Next morning, at break of day, both drew up again, to give the finishing stroke to the victory, to which both laid claim. But, upon Metellus coming up, Sertorius retired, and his army dispersed. Nothing was more common than for his forces to disperse in that manner, and afterwards to knit again; so that Sertorius was often seen wandering alone, and as often advancing again at the head of 150,000 men, like a torrent swelled with sudden rains.

After the battle, Pompey went to wait on Metellus: and upon approaching him, he ordered his lictors to lower the fasces, by way of compliment to Metellus, as his superior. But Metellus would not suffer it: and, indeed, in all respects he behaved to Pompey with great politeness, taking nothing upon him on account of his consular dignity, or his being the older man, except to give the word, when they encamped together. And very often they had separate camps; for the enemy, by his artful and various measures, by making his appearance at different places almost at the same instant, and by drawing them from one action to another, obliged them to divide. He cut off their provisions, he laid waste the country, he made himself master of the sea; the consequence of which was, that they were both forced to quit their own provinces, and go into those of others for supplies.

Pompey having exhausted most of his own fortune in support of the war, applied to the senate for money to pay the troops, declaring he would return with his army to Italy, if they did not send it to him. Lucullus, who was then consul, though he was upon ill terms with Pompey, took care to furnish him with the money as soon as possible; because he wanted to be employed himself in the Mithridatic war, and he was afraid to give Pompey a pretext to leave Sertorius, and to solicit the command against Mithridates, which was a more honourable, and yet appeared a less difficult commission.

Meantime Sertorius was assassinated by his own officers;¹ and Perpenna, who was at the head of the conspirators, undertook to supply his place. He had, indeed, the same troops, the same magazines and supplies, but he had not the same understanding to make a proper use of them. Pompey immediately took the field, and having intelligence that Perpenna was greatly embarrassed as to the measures he should take, he threw out ten cohorts as a bait for him, with orders to spread themselves over the plain. When he found it took, and that Perpenna was busied in the pursuit of that handful of men, he suddenly made his appearance with the main body, attacked the enemy, and routed him entirely. Most of the officers fell in the battle; Perpenna himself was taken prisoner, and brought to Pompey, who commanded him to be put to death. Nevertheless, Pompey is not to be accused of ingratitude, nor are we to suppose him (as some will have it) forgetful of the services

¹ It was three years after the consulate of Lucullus, that Sertorius was assassinated.

he had received from that officer in Sicily. On the contrary, he acted with a wisdom and dignity of mind that proved very salutary to the public. Perpenna having got the papers of Sertorius into his hands, showed letters by which some of the most powerful men in Rome, who were desirous to raise new commotions, and overturn the establishment, had invited Sertorius into Italy. But *Pompey fearing those letters might excite greater wars than that he was then finishing, put Perpenna to death, and burned the papers without reading them.* He stayed just long enough in Spain to compose the troubles, and to remove such uneasinesses as might tend to break the peace; after which he marched back to Italy, where he arrived, as fortune would have it, when the *Servile* war was at the height.

Crassus, who had the command in that war, upon the arrival of Pompey, who, he feared, might snatch the laurels out of his hand, resolved to come to battle, however hazardous it might prove. He succeeded, and killed 12,300 of the enemy. Yet fortune, in some sort, interweaved this with the honours of Pompey; for he killed 5,000 of the slaves, whom he fell in with as they fled after the battle. Immediately upon this, to be beforehand with Crassus, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had beaten the gladiators in a pitched battle, but that it was *he* who had cut up the war by the roots." The Romans took a pleasure in speaking of this one among another, on account of their regard for Pompey; which was such, that no part of the success in Spain, against Sertorius, was ascribed by a man of them, either in jest or earnest, to any but Pompey.

Yet these honours and this high veneration for the man, were mixed with some fears and jealousies that he would not disband his army, but, treading in the steps of Sylla, raise himself by the sword to sovereign power, and maintain himself in it, as Sylla had done.¹ Hence, the number of those that went out of fear to meet him, and congratulate him on his return, was equal to that of those who went out of love. But when he had removed this suspicion, by declaring that he would dismiss his troops immediately after the triumph, there remained only one more subject for envious tongues; which was, that *he paid more attention to the commons than to the senate; and whereas Sylla had destroyed the authority of the tribunes, he was determined to re-establish it, in order to gain the affections of the people.* This was true: for there never was anything they had so much set their hearts upon, or longed for so extravagantly, as to see the tribunitial power put in their hands again. So that Pompey looked upon it as a peculiar happiness, that he had an opportunity to bring that affair about; knowing,

¹ Cicero, in his epistles to Atticus, says, Pompey made but little secret of this unjustifiable ambition. The passages are remarkable. "Our friend Pompey is wonderfully desirous of obtaining a power like that of Sylla; I tell you no more than what I know, for he makes no secret of it."

And again, "Pompey has been forming this infamous design for these two years past; so strongly is he bent upon imitating Sylla, and proscribing like him." Hence we see how happy it was for Rome, that in the civil wars, Caesar, and not Pompey, proved the conqueror.

that if any one should be before-hand with him in this design, he should never find any means of making so agreeable a return for the kind regards of the people.

A second triumph was decreed him,¹ together with the consulship. But these were not considered as the most extraordinary instances of his power. The strongest proof of his greatness was, that *Crassus, the richest, the most eloquent, and most powerful man in the administration*, who used to look down upon Pompey and all the world, did not venture to solicit the consulship without first asking Pompey's leave. Pompey, who had long wished for an opportunity to lay an obligation upon him, received the application with pleasure, and made great interest with the people in his behalf; declaring he should take there giving him Crassus for a colleague as kindly as their favour to himself.

Yet when they were elected consuls, they disagreed in every thing, and were embroiled in all their measures. Crassus had most interest with the senate, and Pompey with the people. For he had restored them the tribunitial power, and had suffered a law to be made that judges should again be appointed out of the equestrian order.² However, the most agreeable spectacle of all to the people was Pompey himself, when he went to claim his exemption from serving in the wars. *It was the custom for a Roman knight, when he had served the time ordered by law, to lead his horse into the forum, before the two magistrates called censors; and after having given account of the generals and other officers under whom he had made his campaigns, and of his own actions in them, to demand his discharge. On these occasions they received proper marks of honour or disgrace, according to their behaviour.*

Gellius and Lentulus were then censors, and had taken their seats in a manner that became their dignity, to review the whole equestrian order, when Pompey was seen at a distance with all the badges of his office, as consul, leading his horse by the bridle. As soon as he was near enough to be observed by the censors, he ordered his *lictors* to make an opening, and advanced, with his horse in hand, to the front of the tribunal. The people were struck with admiration, and a profound silence took place; at the same time a joy, mingled with reverence, was visible in the countenances of the censors. The senior censor then addressed him as follows: "Pompey the Great, I demand of you, whether you have served all the campaigns required by law?" He answered, with a loud voice, "I have served them all; and all under myself, as general." The people were so charmed with this answer, that there was no end of their acclamations. At last, the censors rose

¹ He triumphed towards the end of the year of Rome 683, and at the same time was declared consul for the year ensuing. This was a peculiar honour, to gain the consulate without first bearing the subordinate offices; but his two triumphs, and

his great services, excused that deviation from the common rules.

² L. Aurelius Cotta, carried that point when he was prætor; and Plutarch says again because Caius Gracchus had conveyed that privilege to the knights fifty years before.

up, and conducted Pompey to his house, to indulge the multitude, who followed him with the loudest plaudits.

When the end of the consulship approached, and his difference with Crassus was increasing daily, Caius Ovattus Aurelius, a man who was of the equestrian order, but had never intermeddled with state affairs, one day, when the people were met in full assembly, ascended the *rostra*, and said, "Jupiter had appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to acquaint the consuls, that they must take care to be reconciled before they laid down their office." Pompey stood still, and held his peace; but Crassus went and gave him his hand, and saluted him in a friendly manner. At the same time he addressed the people, as follows: "I think, my fellow-citizens, there is nothing dishonourable or mean in making the first advances to Pompey, whom you scrupled not to dignify with the name of *the Great*, when he was yet but a beardless youth, and for whom you voted two triumphs before he was a senator." Thus reconciled, they laid down the consulship.

Crassus continued his former manner of life; but *Pompey now seldom chose to plead the causes of those that applied to him, and by degrees he left the bar.* Indeed, he seldom appeared in public, and when he did, it was always with a great train of friends and attendants; so that it was not easy either to speak to him or see him, but in the midst of a crowd. *He took pleasure in having a number of retainers about him, because he thought it gave him an air of greatness and majesty, and he was persuaded that dignity should be kept from being soiled by the familiarity, and indeed by the very touch of the many.* For those who are raised to greatness by arms, and know not how to descend again to the equality required in a republic, are very liable to fall into contempt when they resume the robe of peace. The soldier is desirous to preserve the rank in the *forum* which he had in the field; and he who cannot distinguish himself in the field, thinks it intolerable to give place in the administration too. When therefore the latter has got the man who shone in camps and triumphs into the assemblies at home, and finds him attempting to maintain the same pre-eminence there, of course he endeavours to humble him; whereas, if the warrior pretends not to take the lead in domestic councils, he is readily allowed the palm of military glory. This soon appeared from the subsequent events.

The power of the pirates had its foundation in Cilicia. Their progress was the more dangerous, because at first it was little taken notice of. In the Mithridatic war they assumed new confidence and courage, on account of some services they had rendered the king. After this, the Romans being engaged in civil wars at the very gates of their capital, the sea was left unguarded, and the pirates by degrees attempted higher things: they not only attacked ships, but islands, and maritime towns. Many persons, distinguished for their wealth, their birth, and their capacity, embarked with them, and assisted in their depredations, as if their employment had been worthy the ambition of men of honour.

They had in various places arsenals, ports, and watch-towers, all strongly fortified. Their fleets were not only extremely well manned, supplied with skilful pilots, and fitted for their business by their lightness and celerity; but *there was a parade of vanity about them more mortifying than their strength, in gilded sterns, purple canopies, and plated oars*; as if they took a pride and triumphed in their villany. Music resounded, and drunken revels were exhibited on every coast. Here generals were made prisoners; there the cities the pirates had taken were paying their ransom; all to the great disgrace of the Roman power. The number of their galleys amounted to 1,000, and the cities they were masters of to four hundred.

Temples, which had stood inviolably sacred till that time, they plundered. They ruined the temple of Apollo at Claros, that, where he was worshipped, under the title of Didymæus,¹ that of the Cabiri in Samothrace, that of Ceres² at Hermione, that of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, those of Neptune in the Isthmus, at Tænarus and in Calauria, those of Apollo at Actium and in the isle of Leucas, those of Juno at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium.³

They likewise offered strange sacrifices, those of Olympus I mean,⁴ and they celebrated certain secret mysteries, among which those of Mithra continue to this day,⁵ being originally instituted by them. *They not only insulted the Romans at sea, but infested the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coast*: they carried off Sextilius and Bellinus, two prætors, in their purple robes, with all their servants and lictors. They seized the daughter of Antony, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, as she was going to her country house, and he was forced to pay a large ransom for her.

But the most contemptuous circumstance of all was, that when they had taken a prisoner, and he cried out that he was a Roman, and told them his name, they pretended to be struck with terror, smote their thighs, and fell upon their knees to ask him pardon. The poor man, seeing them thus humble themselves before him, thought them in earnest, and said he would forgive them; for some were so officious as to put on his shoes, and others to help him on with his gown, that his quality might no more be mistaken. When they had carried on this farce, and enjoyed it for some time, they

¹ So called from Didyme, in the territories of Miletus.

² Pausanias (in *Læconia*), tells us the Lacedæmonians worship Ceres under the name of *Chthonia*: and (in *Corinthiacæ*), he gives us the reason of her having that name. "The Argives say, that Chthonia, the daughter of Colontia, having been saved out of a conflagration by Ceres, and conveyed to Hermione, built a temple to that goddess, who was worshipped there under the name of Chthonia."

³ The printed text gives us the erroneous

reading of *Lucaniam*, but two manuscripts give us *Lacinium*. Livy often mentions *Juno Lacinia*.

⁴ Not on mount Olympus, but in the city of Olympos, near Phaselis in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of the pirates. What sort of sacrifices they used to offer there is not known.

⁵ According to Herodotus, the Persians worshipped Venus under the name of Mithra, or Mithras; but the sun is worshipped in that country.

let a ladder down into the sea, and bade him go in peace ; and, if he refused to do it, they pushed him off the deck, and drowned him.

Their power extended over the whole Tuscan sea, so that the Romans found their trade and navigation entirely cut off. The consequence of which was, that their markets were not supplied, and they had reason to apprehend a famine. This, at last, put them upon sending Pompey to clear the sea of pirates. Gabinus, one of Pompey's intimate friends, proposed *the decree*,¹ which created him not admiral, but monarch, and invested him with absolute power. The decree gave him the empire of the sea as far as the pillars of Hercules, and of the land for 400 furlongs from the coasts. There were few parts of the Roman empire which this commission did not take in ; and the most considerable of the barbarous nations and most powerful kings, were moreover comprehended in it. Besides this, he was empowered to choose out of the senators fifteen lieutenants, to act under him, in such districts, and with such authority as he should appoint. He was to take from the quæstors, and other public receivers, what money he pleased, and equip a fleet of 200 sail. The number of marine forces, of mariners and rowers, were left entirely to his discretion.

When this decree was read in the assembly, the people received it with inconceivable pleasure. The most respectable part of the senate saw, indeed, that such an absolute and unlimited power was above envy, but they considered it as a real object of fear. They therefore all, except Cæsar, opposed its passing into a law. He was for it, not out of regard for Pompey, but to insinuate himself into the good graces of the people, which he had long been courting. The rest were very severe in their expressions against Pompey : and one of the consuls venturing to say,² " If he imitates Romulus, he will not escape his fate," was in danger of being pulled in pieces by the populace.

It is true, when Catulus rose up to speak against the law, out of reverence for his person they listened to him with great attention. After he had freely given Pompey the honour that was his due, and said much in his praise, he advised them to spare him, and not to expose such a man to so many dangers ; " for where will you find another," said he, " if you lose him ? " They answered with one voice, " Yourself." Finding his arguments had no effect, he retired. Then Roscius mounted the rostrum, but not a man would give ear to him. However he made signs to them with his fingers, that they should not appoint Pompey alone, but give him a colleague. Incensed at the proposal they set up such a shout, that a crow, which was flying over the *forum*, was stunned with the force of it and fell down among the crowd. Hence we may conclude, that

¹ This law was made in the year of Rome 684. The crafty tribune, when he proposed it, did not name Pompey. Pompey was now in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

His friend, Gabinus, as appears from Cæsar, was a man of infamous character.

² The consuls of this year were Calpurnius Piso, and Atilius Ubius.

when birds fall on such occasions, it is not because the air is so divided with the shock as to leave a *vacuum*, but rather because the sound strikes them like a blow, when it ascends with such force, and produces so violent an agitation.

The assembly broke up that day, without coming to any resolution. When the day came that they were to give their suffrages, Pompey retired into the country: and, on receiving information that the decree was passed, he returned to the city by night, to prevent the envy which the multitudes of people coming to meet him would have excited. Next morning at break of day, he made his appearance, and attended the sacrifice. After which he summoned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had given him. He was empowered to fit out 500 galleys, and to raise an army of 120,000 foot, and 5,000 horse. Twenty-four senators were selected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants; and he had two quaestors given him. As the price of provisions fell immediately, the people were greatly pleased, and it gave them occasion to say, "The very name of Pompey had terminated the war."

However, in pursuance of his charge he divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, appointing a lieutenant for each, and assigning him a squadron. By thus stationing his fleets in all quarters, he enclosed the pirates as it were in a net, took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. Such of their vessels as had dispersed and made off in time, or could escape the general chase, retired to Cilicia, like so many bees into a hive. Against these he proposed to go himself with sixty of his best galleys; but first he resolved to clear the Tuscan sea, and the coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, of all piratical adventurers; which he effected in forty days, by his own indefatigable endeavours and those of his lieutenants. But, as the consul Piso was indulging his malignity at home, in wasting his stores and discharging his seamen, he sent his fleet round to Brundisium, and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome.

As soon as the people were informed of his approach, they went in crowds to receive him, in the same manner as they had done a few days before, to conduct him on his way. Their extraordinary joy was owing to the speed with which he had executed his commission, so far beyond all expectation, and to the superabundant plenty which reigned in the markets. For this reason Piso was in danger of being deposed from the consulship, and Gabinus had a decree ready drawn up for that purpose; but Pompey would not suffer him to propose it. On the contrary, his speech to the people was full of candour and moderation; and when he had provided such things as he wanted, he went to Brundisium, and put to sea again. Though he was straitened for time, and in his haste sailed by many cities without calling, yet he stopped at Athens. He entered the town and sacrificed to the gods; after which he addressed the people, and then prepared to re-embark, immediately.

As he went out of the gate he observed two inscriptions, each comprised in one line.

That within the gate was—

But know thyself a man, and be a god.

That without—

We wish'd, we saw ; we loved and we adored.

Some of the pirates, who yet traversed the seas, made their submission ; and as he treated them in a humane manner, when he had them and their ships in his power, others entertained hopes of mercy, and avoiding the other officers surrendered themselves to Pompey, together with their wives and children. He spared them all ; and it was principally by their means that he found out and took a number who were guilty of unpardonable crimes, and therefore had concealed themselves.

Still, however, there remained a greater number, and indeed the most powerful part of these corsairs, who sent their families, treasures, and all useless hands, into castles and fortified towns upon Mount Taurus. Then they manned their ships, and waited for Pompey at Coracesium, in Cilicia. A battle ensued, and the pirates were defeated ; after which they retired into the fort. But they had not been long besieged before they capitulated, and surrendered themselves, together with the cities and islands which they had conquered and fortified and which by their works, as well as situation, were almost impregnable. Thus the war was finished, and the whole force of the pirates destroyed, within three months.

Besides the other vessels, Pompey took ninety ships with beaks of brass ; and the prisoners amounted to 20,000. He did not choose to put them to death, and at the same time he thought it wrong to suffer them to disperse, because they were not only numerous, but warlike and necessitous, and therefore would probably knit again and give future trouble. He reflected, that man by nature is neither a savage nor an unsocial creature ; and when he becomes so it is by vices contrary to nature ; yet even then he may be humanised by changing his place of abode, and accustoming him to a new manner of life : as beasts that are naturally wild put off their fierceness, when they are kept in a domestic way. For this reason he determined to remove the pirates to a great distance from the sea, and bring them to taste the sweets of civil life, by living in cities, and by the culture of the ground. He placed some of them in the little town of Cilicia, which was almost desolate, and received them with pleasure, because, at the same time he gave them an additional proportion of lands. He repaired the city of Soli,¹ which had lately been dismantled and deprived of its inhabitants by Tigranes, king of Armenia, and peopled it with a number of these corsairs. The remainder, which was a considerable body, he planted in Dyma, a city of Achaia, which, though it had a large and fruitful territory, was in want of inhabitants.

Such as looked upon Pompey with envy found fault with these

¹ He called it after his own name *Pompeia polis*

proceedings ; but his conduct with respect to Metellus in Crete was not agreeable to his best friends. This was a relation of that Metellus who commanded in conjunction with Pompey in Spain, and he had been sent into Crete some time before Pompey was employed in this war. For Crete was the second nursery of pirates after Cilicia. Metellus had destroyed many nests of them there, and the remainder, who were besieged by him at this time, addressed themselves to Pompey as suppliants, and invited him into the island, as included in his commission, and falling within the distance he had a right to carry his arms from the sea. He listened to their application, and by letter enjoined Metellus to take no further steps in the war. At the same time he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius, one of his own lieutenants, whom he sent to take the command.

Octavius went in among the besieged, and fought on their side ; a circumstance which rendered Pompey not only odious, but ridiculous. For what could be more absurd than to suffer himself to be so blinded by his envy and jealousy of Metellus as to lend his name and authority to a crew of profligate wretches, to be used as a kind of amulet to defend them. Achilles was not thought to behave like a man, but like a frantic youth carried away by an extravagant passion for fame, when he made signs to his troops not to touch Hector,

Lest some strong arm should snatch the glorious prize
Before Pelides.—————

But Pompey fought for the common enemies of mankind, in order to deprive a prætor, who was labouring to destroy them, of the honours of a triumph. Metellus, however, pursued his operations till he took the pirates, and put them all to death. As for Octavius, he exposed him in the camp as an object of contempt, and loaded him with reproaches, after which he dismissed him.

When news was brought to Rome, that the war with the pirates was finished, and that Pompey was bestowing his leisure upon visiting the cities, Manilius, one of the tribunes of the people, proposed a decree, which gave him all the provinces and forces under the command of Lucullus, adding likewise Bithynia, which was then governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes ; for which purpose he was also to retain his naval command. *This was subjecting at once the whole Roman empire to one man.* For the provinces which the former decree did not give him, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Upper Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this, together with all the forces, which, under Lucullus, had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

By this law Lucullus was deprived of the honours he had dearly earned, and had a person to succeed him in his triumph, rather than in the war ; but that was not the thing which affected the Patricians most. They were persuaded, indeed, that Lucullus was treated with injustice and ingratitude ; but it was a much more painful circumstance, to think of a power in the hands of Pompey,

which they could call nothing but a tyranny.¹ They therefore exhorted and encouraged each other to oppose the law, and maintain their liberty. Yet when the time came, their fear of the people prevailed, and no one spoke on the occasion but Catulus. He urged many arguments against the bill; and when he found they had no effect upon the commons, he addressed himself to the senators, and called upon them many times from the *rostrum*, "To seek some mountain, as their ancestors had done, some rock whither they might fly for the preservation of liberty."

We are told, however, that the bill was passed by all the tribes,² and almost the same universal authority, conferred upon Pompey in his absence, which Sylla did not gain but by the sword, and by carrying war into the bowels of his country. *When Pompey received the letters which notified his high promotion, and his friends, who happened to be by, congratulated him on the occasion, he is said to have knit his brows, smote his thigh, and expressed himself as if he was already overburdened and wearied with the weight of power.*³

"*Alas! is there no end of my conflicts? How much better would it have been to be one of the undistinguished many, than to be perpetually engaged in war? Shall I never be able to fly from envy to a rural retreat, to domestic happiness, and conjugal endearments?*" Even his friends were unable to bear the dissimulation of this speech. They knew that the flame of his native ambition and lust of power was blown up to a greater height by the difference he had with Lucullus, and that he rejoiced the more in the present preference, on that account.

His actions soon unmasked the man. He caused public notice to be given in all places within his commission, that the Roman troops were to repair to him, as well as the kings and princes their allies. Wherever he went, he annulled the acts of Lucullus, remitting the fines he had imposed, and taking away the rewards he had given. In short, he omitted no means to show the partisans of that general that all his authority was gone.

Lucullus, of course, complained of this treatment; and their common friends were of opinion, that it would be best for them to come to an interview; accordingly they met in Galatia. As they had both given distinguished proofs of military merit, the *lictors* had entwined the rods of each with laurel. Lucullus had marched through a country full of flourishing groves, but Pompey's route was dry and barren, without the ornament or advantage of woods. His laurels, therefore, were parched and withered; which the servants of

1 "We have then got at last," said they, "a sovereign: the republic is changed into a monarchy; the services of Lucullus, the honour of Glabrio and Marcus, two zealous and worthy senators, are to be sacrificed to the promotion of Pompey. Sylla never carried his tyranny so far."

² Two great men spoke in favour of the law, namely, Cicero and Cæsar. The former aimed at the consulate, which

Pompey's party could more easily procure him, than that of Catulus and the senate. As for Cæsar, he was delighted to see the people insensibly lose that republican spirit and love of liberty which might one day obstruct the vast designs he had already formed.

³ Is it possible to read this without recollecting the similar character of our Richard the Third?

Lucullus no sooner observed, than they freely supplied them with fresh ones, and crowned his *fascēs* with them. This seemed to be an omen that Pompey would bear away the honours and rewards of Lucullus's victories. Lucullus had been consul before Pompey, and was the older man; but Pompey's two triumphs gave him the advantage in point of dignity.

Their interview had at first the face of great politeness and civility. They began with mutual compliments and congratulations; but they soon lost sight even of candour and moderation; they proceeded to abusive language; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus accusing Pompey of an insatiable lust of power; insomuch that their friends found it difficult to prevent violence. After this, Lucullus gave his friends and followers lands in Galatia, as a conquered country, and made other considerable grants. But Pompey, who encamped at a little distance from him, declared he would not suffer his orders to be carried into execution, and seduced all his soldiers, except 1,600, who, he knew, were so mutinous that they would be as unserviceable to him as they had been ill-affected to their old general. Nay, he scrupled not to disparage the conduct of Lucullus, and to represent his actions in a despicable light. "The battles of Lucullus," he said, "were only mock battles, and he had fought with nothing but the shadows of kings; but that it was left for *him* to contend with real strength and well disciplined armies; since Mithridates had betaken himself to swords and shields, and knew how to make proper use of his cavalry."

On the other hand, Lucullus defended himself by observing, "That it was nothing new to Pompey to fight with phantoms and shadows of war; for, like a dastardly bird, he had been accustomed to prey upon those whom he had not killed, and to tear the poor remains of a dying opposition." Thus he had arrogated to himself the conquest of Sertorius, of Lepidus, and Spartacus, which originally belonged to Metellus, to Catulus, and Crassus. Consequently, he did not wonder that he was come to claim the honour of finishing the wars of Armenia and Pontus, after he had thrust himself into the triumph over the fugitive slaves.

In a little time Lucullus departed for Rome; and Pompey, having secured the sea from Phœnicia to the Bosphorus, marched in quest of Mithridates, who had an army of 30,000 foot and 2,000 horse, but durst not stand an engagement. That prince was in possession of a strong and secure post upon a mountain, which he quitted upon Pompey's approach, because it was destitute of water. Pompey encamped in the same place; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and the crevices in the mountain, that springs might be found, he ordered a number of wells to be dug, and the camp was in a short time plentifully supplied with water.¹ He was not a little surprised that this did not occur to Mithridates during the whole time of his encampment there.

¹ Paulus Æmilius had done the same thing long before in the Macedonian war.

After this, Pompey followed him to his new camp, and drew a line of circumvallation round him. Mithridates stood a siege of 45 days, after which he found means to steal off with his best troops, having first killed all the sick, and such as could be of no service. Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates, and encamped over against him; but fearing he might pass the river unperceived, he drew out his troops at midnight. At that time Mithridates is said to have had a dream prefigurative of what was to befall him. He thought he was upon the Pontic sea, sailing with a favourable wind, and in sight of the Bosphorus; so that he felicitated his friends in the ship, like a man perfectly safe, and already in harbour. But suddenly he beheld himself in the most destitute condition, swimming upon a piece of wreck. While he was in all the agitation which this dream produced, his friends awaked him, and told him that Pompey was at hand. He was now under a necessity of fighting for his camp, and his generals drew up the forces with all possible expedition.

Pompey seeing them prepared, was loath to risk a battle in the dark. He thought it sufficient to surround them, so as to prevent their flight, and what inclined him still more to wait for daylight, was the consideration that his troops were much better than the enemy's. However, the oldest of his officers entreated him to proceed immediately to the attack, and at last prevailed. It was not indeed very dark; for the moon, though near her setting, gave light enough to distinguish objects. But it was a great disadvantage to the king's troops that the moon was so low, and on the backs of the Romans; because she projected their shadows so far before them, that the enemy could form no just estimate of the distances, but thinking them at hand, threw their javelins before they could do the least execution.

The Romans, perceiving their mistake, advanced to the charge with all the alarm of voices. The enemy were in such a consternation, that they made not the least stand, and, in their flight, vast numbers were slain. They lost above 10,000 men, and their camp was taken. As for Mithridates, he broke through the Romans with 800 horse, in the beginning of the engagement. That corps, however, did not follow him far before they dispersed, and left him with only three of his people; one of whom was his concubine Hypsicratia, a woman of such a masculine and daring spirit, that the king used to call her Hypsicrates. She then rode a Persian horse, and was dressed in a man's habit, of the fashion of that nation. She complained not in the least of the length of the march; and besides that fatigue, she waited on the king, and took care of his horse, till they reached the castle of Inora,¹ where the king's treasure, and his most valuable moveables were deposited. Mithridates took out thence many rich robes, and be-

¹ It seems from a passage in Strabo (B. xii.) that instead of Inora, we should read Sinoria: for that was one of the

many fortresses Mithridates had built between the greater and the less Armenia.

stowed them on those who repaired to him after their flight. He furnished each of his friends, too, with a quantity of poison, that none of them, against their will, might come alive into the enemy's hands.

From Inora his design was to go to Tigranes in Armenia. But Tigranes had given up the cause, and set a price of no less than a hundred talents upon his head. He therefore changed his route, and having passed the head of the Euphrates, directed his flight through Colchis.

In the meantime, Pompey entered Armenia, upon the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and was gone to meet the Roman general at the river Araxes. This river takes its rise near the source of the Euphrates, but bends its course eastward, and empties itself into the Caspian sea. Pompey and young Tigranes, in their march, received the homage of the cities through which they passed. As for Tigranes the father, he had been lately defeated by Lucullus; and now, being informed that Pompey was of a mild and humane disposition, he received a Roman garrison into his capital; and taking his friends and relations with him, went to surrender himself. As he rode up to the entrenchments, two of Pompey's *lectors* came and ordered him to dismount, and enter on foot; assuring him that no man was ever seen on horseback in a Roman camp. Tigranes obeyed, and even took off his sword, and gave it them. As soon as he came before Pompey, he pulled off his diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet. What was still worse, he was going to prostrate himself, and embrace his knees. But Pompey preventing it, took him by the hand, and placed him on one side of him, and his son on the other. Then addressing himself to the father, he said, "As to what you had lost before, you lost it to Lucullus. It was he who took from you Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene. But what you kept till my time, I will restore you, on condition you pay the Romans a fine of six thousand talents for the injury you have done them. Your son I will make king of Sophene."

Tigranes thought himself so happy in these terms, and in finding that the Romans saluted him king, that in the joy of his heart he promised every private soldier half a *mina*, every centurion ten *minas*, and every tribune a talent. But his son was little pleased at the determination; and when he was invited to supper, he said, "He had no need of such honours from Pompey; for he could find another Roman." Upon this, he was bound, and reserved in chains for the triumph. Not long after, Phraates, king of Parthia, sent to demand the young prince, as his son-in-law, and to propose that the Euphrates should be the boundary between him and the Roman empire. Pompey answered, "That Tigranes was certainly nearer to his father than his father-in-law; and as for the boundary, justice should direct it."

When he had despatched this affair, he left Afranius to take care of Armenia, and marched himself to the countries bordering on Mount Caucasus, through which he must necessarily pass in search

of Mithridates. The Albanians and Iberians are the principal nations in those parts. The Iberian territories touch upon the Moschian mountains and the kingdom of Pontus; the Albanians stretch more to the east, and extend to the Caspian sea. The Albanians at first granted Pompey a passage; but as winter overtook him in their dominions, they took the opportunity of the *Saturnalia*, which the Romans observe religiously, to assemble their forces to the number of forty thousand men, with a resolution to attack them; and for that purpose passed the Cynus.¹ The Cynus rises in the Iberian mountains, and being joined in its course by the Araxes from Armenia, it discharges itself, by twelve mouths, into the Caspian sea. Some say, the Araxes does not run into it,² but has a separate channel, and empties itself near it into the same sea.

Pompey suffered them to pass the river, though it was in his power to have hindered it; and when they were all got over, he attacked and routed them, and killed great numbers on the spot. Their kings sent ambassadors to beg for mercy; upon which Pompey forgave him the violence he had offered, and entered into alliance with him. This done, he marched against the Iberians, who were equally numerous and more warlike, and who were very desirous to signalise their zeal for Mithridates, by repulsing Pompey. The Iberians were never subject to the Medes or Persians; they escaped even the Macedonian yoke, because Alexander was obliged to leave Hyrcania in haste. Pompey, however, defeated this people too, in a great battle, in which he killed no less than 9,000, and took above 10,000 prisoners.

After this, he threw himself into Colchis; and Servilius came and joined him at the mouth of the Phasis, with the fleet appointed to guard the Euxine sea. The pursuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties: for he had concealed himself among the nations settled about the Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis. Besides, news was brought Pompey that the Albanians had revolted, and taken up arms again. The desire of revenge determined him to march back, and chastise them. But it was with infinite trouble and danger that he passed the Cynus again, the barbarians having fenced it on their side with pallsades all along the banks. And when he was over, he had a large country to traverse, which afforded no water. This last difficulty he provided against, by filling 10,000 bottles; and, pursuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river Abas,³ to the number of 60,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, but many of them ill-armed, and provided with nothing of the defensive kind but skins of beasts.

They were commanded by the king's brother, named Cosis; who, at the beginning of the battle, singled out Pompey, and, rushing in

¹ Strabo and Pliny call this river Cynus, and so Pintarck probably wrote it.

² This is Strabo's opinion, in which he is followed by modern geographers.

³ This river takes its rise in the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caspian sea. Ptolemy calls it *Abasus*.

upon him, struck his javelin into the joints of his breastplate. Pompey in return run him through with his spear, and laid him dead on the spot. *It is said that the Amazons came to the assistance of the barbarians from the mountains near the river Thermodon, and fought in this battle.* The Romans, among the plunder of the field, did, indeed, meet with bucklers in the form of a half-moon, and such buskins as the Amazons wore; but there was not the body of a woman found among the dead. They inhabit that part of Mount Caucasus which stretches towards the Hyrcanian Sea, and are not next neighbours to the Albanians,¹ for Gelæ and Leges lie between; but they meet that people, and spend two months with them every year on the banks of the Thermodon: after which they retire to their own country, where they live without the company of men.

After this action, Pompey designed to make his way to the Caspian Sea, and march by its coasts into Hyrcania; but he found the number of venomous serpents so troublesome, that he was forced to return, when three days' march more would have carried him as far as he proposed. The next route he took was into Armenia the Less, where he gave audience to ambassadors from the kings of the Elymans² and Medes, and dismissed them with letters expressive of his regard. Meantime the king of Parthia had entered Gordyene, and was doing infinite damage to the subjects of Tigranes. Against him Pompey sent Afranius, who put him to the rout, and pursued him as far as the province of Arbelis.

Among all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he touched not one, but sent them to their parents or husbands; for most of them were either daughters or wives of the great officers and principal persons of the kingdom. But Stratonice, who was the first favourite, and had the care of a fort where the best part of the king's treasure was lodged, was the daughter of a poor old musician. She sung one evening to Mithridates, at an entertainment, and he was so much pleased with her that he took her to his bed that night, and sent the old man home in no very good humour, because he had taken his daughter without condescending to speak one kind word to him. But when he waked next morning, he saw tables covered with vessels of gold and silver, a great retinue of eunuchs and pages, who offered him choice of rich robes, and before his gate a horse with such magnificent furniture, as is provided for those who are called the king's friends. All this he thought nothing but an insult and burlesque upon him, and therefore prepared for flight; but the servants stopped him, and assured him that the king had given him the house of a rich nobleman lately deceased, and that what he saw was only the first fruits—a small earnest of the fortune he intended

¹ The Albanian forces, according to Strabo, were numerous, but ill-disciplined. Their offensive weapons were darts and arrows, and their defensive armour was made of the skins of beasts.

² Strabo (lib. xvi.) places the Elymans

in that part of Assyria which borders upon Media, and mentions three provinces belonging to them, Gabbane, Mossabates, and Corbians. He adds, that they were powerful enough to refuse submission to the king of Parthia.

him. At last he suffered himself to be persuaded that the scene was not visionary ; he put on the purple, and mounted the horse, and, as he rode through the city, cried out, " All this is mine." The inhabitants, of course, laughed at him ; and he told them, " They should not be surprised at this behaviour of his, but rather wonder that he did not throw stones at them."

FROM such a glorious source spring STRATONICE.

She surrendered to Pompey the castle, and made him many magnificent presents ; however, he took nothing but what might be an ornament to the solemnities of religion, and add lustre to his triumph. The rest he desired she would keep for her own enjoyment. In like manner, when the king of Iberia sent him a bedstead, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold, and begged of him to accept them as a mark of his regard, he bade the quæstors apply them to the purposes of the public revenue.

In the castle of Cænon he found the private papers of Mithridates ; and he read them with some pleasure, because they discovered that prince's real character. From these memoirs it appeared, that he had taken off many persons by poison, among whom were his own son Ariarathes and Alcaeus of Sardia. His pique against the latter took its rise merely from his having better horses for the race than he. There were also interpretations, both of his own dreams and those of his wives ; and the lascivious letters which had passed between him and Monime. Theophanes pretends to say, that there was found among those papers a memorial composed by Rutilius,¹ exhorting Mithridates to massacre all the Romans in Asia. But most people believe this was a malicious invention of Theophanes, to blacken Rutilius, whom probably he hated, because he was a perfect contrast to him ; or it might be invented by Pompey, whose father was represented in Rutilius's Histories as one of the worst of men.

From Cænon, Pompey marched to Amisus ; where his infatuating ambition put him upon very obnoxious measures. He had censured Lucullus much for disposing of provinces at a time when the war was alive, and for bestowing other considerable gifts and honours, which conquerors used to grant after their wars were absolutely terminated. And yet when Mithridates was master of the Bosphorus, and had assembled a very respectable army again, the same Pompey did the very thing he had censured.—As if he had finished the whole, he disposed of governments, and distributed other rewards among his friends. On that occasion many princes and generals, and among them twelve barbarian kings, appeared before him ; and to gratify those princes, when he wrote to the king of Parthia, he refused to give him the title of King of kings, by which he was usually addressed.

¹ Rutilius Rufus was consul in the year of Rome 642. Cicero gives him a great character. He was afterwards banished into Asia, and when Sylla

recalled him, he refused to return. He wrote a Roman history in Greek, which Appian made great use of.

He was passionately desirous to recover Syria, and passing from thence through Arabia, to penetrate to the Red Sea, that he might go on conquering every way to the ocean which surrounds the world. *In Africa he was the first whose conquests extended to the Great Sea; in Spain he stretched the Roman dominions to the Atlantic; and in his late pursuit of the Albanians, he wanted but little of reaching the Hyrcanian Sea.* In order, therefore, to take the Red Sea too into the circle of his wars, he began his march; the rather, because he saw it difficult to hunt out Mithridates with a regular force, and that he was much harder to deal with in his flight than in battle. For this reason, he said, "He would leave him a stronger enemy than the Romans to cope with, which was famine." In pursuance of this intention, he ordered a number of ships to cruise about and prevent any vessels from entering the Bosphorus with provisions; and that death should be the punishment for such as were taken in the attempt.

As he was upon his march with the best part of his army, he found the bodies of those Romans, who fell in the unfortunate battle between Triarius¹ and Mithridates, still uninterred. He gave them an honourable burial; and the omission of it seems to have contributed not a little to the aversion the army had for Lucullus.

Proceeding in the execution of his plan, he subdued the Arabians about mount Amanus, by his lieutenant Afranius, and descended himself into Syria; which he converted into a Roman province, because it had no lawful king.² *He reduced Judea, and took its king Aristobulus prisoner.* He founded some cities, and set others free; punishing the tyrants who had enslaved them. But most of his time was spent in administering justice, and in deciding the disputes between cities and princes. Where he could not go himself, he sent his friends, the Armenians and Parthians, for instance, having referred the difference they had about some territory, to his decision, he sent three arbitrators to settle the affair. *His reputation as to power was great, and it was equally respectable as to virtue and moderation.* This was the thing which palliated most of his faults, and those of his ministers. He knew not how to restrain or punish the offences of those he employed, but he gave so gracious a reception to those who came to complain of them, that they went away not ill satisfied with all they had suffered from their avarice and oppression.

His first favourite was Demetrius his enfranchised slave; a young man, who, in other respects, did not want understanding, but who made an insolent use of his good fortune. They tell us this story of him. Cato the philosopher, then a young man, but already

¹ Triarius was defeated by Mithridates three years before Pompey's march into Syria. He had 23 tribunes, and 150 centurions killed in that battle; and his camp was taken.

² Pompey took the temple of Jerusalem, killing no less than 12,000 Jews in the action. He entered the temple, contrary

to their law, but had the moderation not to touch any of the holy vessels, or the treasure belonging to it. Aristobulus presented him with a golden vine, valued at 500 talents, which he afterwards consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

celebrated for his virtue and greatness of mind, went to see Antioch, when Pompey was not there. According to custom, he travelled on foot, but his friends accompanied him on horseback. When he approached the city, he saw a great number of people before the gates, all in white, and on the way a troop of young men ranged on one side, and of boys on the other. This gave the philosopher pain ; for he thought it a compliment intended him, which he did not want.—However, he ordered his friends to alight and walk with him. As soon as they were near enough to be spoken with, the master of the ceremonies, with a crown on his head, and a staff of office in his hand, came up and asked them, “Where they had left Demetrius, and when he might be expected?” Cato’s companions laughed, but Cato said only, “Alas, poor city !” and so passed on.

Indeed, others might the better endure the insolence of Demetrius, because Pompey bore with it himself. Very often, when Pompey was waiting to receive company, Demetrius seated himself in a disrespectful manner at table, with his cap of liberty pulled over his ears. Before his return to Italy he had purchased the pleasantest villas about Rome, with magnificent apartments for entertaining his friends, and some of the most elegant and expensive gardens were known by his name. Yet Pompey himself was satisfied with an indifferent house till his third triumph. Afterwards he built that beautiful and celebrated theatre in Rome ; and as an appendage to it, built himself a house much handsomer than the former, but not ostentatiously great ; for he who came to be master of it after him, at his first entrance was surprised, and asked, “Where was the room in which Pompey the Great used to sup ?”

The king of Arabia Petræa had hitherto considered the Romans in no formidable light, but he was really afraid of Pompey, and sent letters to acquaint him that he was ready to obey all his commands. Pompey, to try the sincerity of his professions, marched against Petræa. Many blamed this expedition, looking upon it as no better than a pretext to be excused pursuing Mithridates, against whom they would have had him turn, as against the ancient enemy of Rome ; and an enemy who, according to all accounts, had so far recovered his strength as to propose marching through Scythia and Pæonia into Italy. On the other hand, Pompey was of opinion that it was much easier to ruin him when at the head of an army, than to take him in his flight, and therefore would not amuse himself with a fruitless pursuit, but rather chose to wait for a new emergency, and, in the meantime, to turn his arms to another quarter.

Fortune soon resolved the doubt. He had advanced near Petræa, and encamped for that day, and was taking some exercise on horseback without the trenches, when messengers arrived from Pontus ; and *it was plain they brought good news, because the points of their spears were crowned with laurel.* The soldiers seeing this, gathered about Pompey, who was inclined to finish his exercise before he opened the packet ; but they were so earnest in their entreaties, that they prevailed upon him to alight and take it. He

entered the camp with it in his hand ; and as *there was no tribunal ready, and the soldiers were too impatient to raise one of turf, which was the common method, they piled a number of pack-saddles one upon another, upon which Pompey mounted, and gave them this information; Mithridates is dead.* He killed himself upon the revolt of his son Pharnaces. And Pharnaces has seized all that belonged to his father ; which he declares he has done for himself and the Romans.

At this news the army, as might be expected, gave a loose to their joy, which they expressed in sacrifices to the gods, and in reciprocal entertainments, as if 10,000 of their enemies had been slain in Mithridates. Pompey having thus brought the campaign and the whole war to a conclusion so happy and so far beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, traversed the provinces between that and Galatia with great rapidity, and soon arrived at Amisus. There he found many presents from Pharnaces, and several corpses of the royal family, among which was that of Mithridates. The face of that prince could not be easily known, because the embalmers had not taken out the brain, and by the corruption of that the features were disfigured. Yet some that were curious to examine it distinguished it by the scars. As for Pompey, he would not see the body, but to propitiate the avenging deity (Nemesis) sent it to Sinope. However, he looked upon and admired the magnificence of his habit, and the size and beauty of his arms. The scabbard of the sword, which cost 400 talents, was stolen by one Publius, who sold it to Ariarathes. And Caius, the foster brother of Mithridates, took the diadem, which was of most exquisite workmanship, and gave it privately to Faustus, the son of Sylla, who had begged it of him. This escaped the knowledge of Pompey, but Pharnaces, discovering it afterwards, punished the persons guilty of the theft.

Pompey having thoroughly settled the affairs of Asia, proceeded in his return to Rome with more pomp and solemnity. When he arrived at Mitylene, he declared it a free city, for the sake of Theophanes, who was born there. He was present at the anniversary exercises of the poets, whose sole subject that year was the actions of Pompey. And he was so much pleased with their theatre, that he took a plan of it, with a design to build one like it at Rome, but greater and more noble. When he came to Rhodes, he attended the declamations of all the Sophists, and presented each of them with a talent. Posidonius committed the discourse to writing, which he made before him against the position of Hermagoras, another professor of rhetoric concerning Invention in general.¹ He behaved with equal munificence to the philosophers

¹ Hermagoras was for reducing invention under two general heads, the reason of the process, and the state of the question ; which limitation Cicero disapproved as

much as his master Posidonius. Vide CICERO, de Invent. Rhetor. Lib. 1.

This Posidonius, who was of Apamea, is not to be confounded with Posidonius of Alexandria, the disciple of Zeno.

at Athens, and gave the people 50 talents for the repair of their city.

He hoped to return to Italy the greatest and happiest of men, and that his family would meet his affection with equal ardour. But the deity whose care it is always to mix some portion of evil with the highest and most splendid favours of fortune, had been long preparing him a sad welcome in his house. Mucia,¹ in his absence, had dishonoured his bed. While he was at a distance, he disregarded the report, but upon his approach to Italy, and a more mature examination into the affair, he sent her a divorce without assigning his reasons either then or afterwards. The true reason is to be found in Cicero's epistles.

People talked variously at Rome concerning Pompey's intentions. Many disturbed themselves at the thought that he would march with his army immediately to Rome, and make himself sole and absolute master there. Crassus took his children and money, and withdrew : whether it was that he had some real apprehensions, or rather that he chose to countenance the calumny, and add force to the sting of envy ; the latter seems the more probable. But Pompey had no sooner set foot in Italy, than *he called an assembly of his soldiers, and, after a kind and suitable address, ordered them to disperse in their respective cities, and attend to their own affairs till his triumph, on which occasion they were to repair to him again.*

As soon as it was known that his troops were disbanded, an astonishing change appeared in the face of things. The cities seeing Pompey the Great unarmed, and attended by a few friends, as if he was returning only from a common tour, poured out their inhabitants after him, who conducted him to Rome with the sincerest pleasure, and with a much greater force than that which he had dismissed ; so that there would have been no need of the army, if he had formed any designs against the state.

As the law did not permit him to enter the city before his triumph, he desired the senate to defer the election of consuls on his account, that he might by his presence support the interest of Piso. But Cato opposed it, and the motion miscarried. Pompey, admiring the liberty and firmness with which Cato maintained the rights and customs of his country, at a time when no other man would appear so openly for them, determined to gain him if possible ; and as Cato had two nieces, he offered to marry the one, and asked the other for his son. Cato, however, suspected the bait, and looked upon the proposed alliance as a means intended to corrupt his integrity. He therefore refused it, to the great regret of his wife and sister, who could not but be displeased at his rejecting such advances from Pompey the Great. Meantime Pompey

¹ Mucia was sister to Metellus Celer, and to Metellus Nepos. She was debauched by Cæsar ; for which reason, when Pompey married Cæsar's daughter, all the world blamed him for turning off a wife by whom he had three children, to espouse the daughter of a man whom he

had often with a sigh, called his Agasthus. Mucia's disloyalty must have been very public, since Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, says, the divorce of Mucia meets with general approbation. Lib. i. ep. xii.

being desirous to get the consulship from Afranius, distributed money for that purpose among the tribes, and the voters went to receive it in Pompey's own gardens. The thing was so public that *Pompey was much censured for making that office venal, which he had obtained by his great actions, and opening a way to the highest honour in the state to those who had money, but wanted merit.* Cato then observed to the ladies of his family, that they must all have shared in this disgrace, if they had accepted Pompey's alliance; upon which they acknowledged he was a better judge than they of honour and propriety.

The triumph was so great, that though it was divided into two days, the time was far from being sufficient for displaying what was prepared to be carried in procession; there remained still enough to adorn another triumph. At the head of the show appeared the titles of the conquered nations; Pontus, Armenia, Capadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judea, Arabia, the pirates subdued both by sea and land. In these countries, it was mentioned that there were not less than 1,000 castles, and near 900 cities taken; 800 galleys taken from the pirates; and 39 desolate cities repeopled. On the face of the tablets it appeared besides, that whereas the revenues of the Roman empire before these conquests amounted but to 50 millions of *drachmas*, by the new acquisitions they were advanced to 85 millions: and that Pompey had brought into the public treasury in money, and in gold and silver vessels, to the value of 20,000 talents, besides what he had distributed among the soldiers, of whom he that received least had 1,500 *drachmas* to his share. The captives who walked in the procession (not to mention the chiefs of the pirates) were the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, together with his wife and daughter; Zosima, the wife of Tigranes himself; *Aristobulus, king of Judea*; the sister of Mithridates, with her five sons; and some Scythian women. The hostages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Commagene also appeared in the train: and as many trophies were exhibited as Pompey had gained victories, either in person or by his lieutenants, the number of which was not small.

But the most honourable circumstance, and what no other Roman could boast, was that *his third triumph was over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two.* Others before him had been honoured with three triumphs; but his first triumph was over Africa, his second over Europe, and his third over Asia; so that the three seemed to declare him conqueror of the world.

Those who desire to make the parallel between him and Alexander agree in all respects, tell us he was at this time not quite thirty-four, whereas, in fact, he was entering upon his fortieth year.¹

¹ It should be forty sixth year. Pompey was born in the beginning of August, in the year of Rome 647, and his triumph

was in the same month in the year of Rome 692.

Happy it had been for him, if he had ended his days while he was blessed with Alexander's good fortune! The rest of his life, every instance of success brought its proportion of envy, and every miscarriage was irretrievable. *For the authority which he had gained by his merit he employed for others in a way not very honourable; and his reputation consequently sinking, as they grew in strength, he was insensibly ruined by the weight of his own power.* As it happens in a siege, every strong work that is taken adds to the besieger's force; so Cæsar, when raised by the influence of Pompey, turned that power, which enabled him to trample upon his country, upon Pompey himself.

Lucullus, who had been treated so unworthily by Pompey in Asia, upon his return to Rome met with the most honourable reception from the senate; and they gave him still greater marks of their esteem after the arrival of Pompey; endeavouring to awake his ambition, and prevail with him to attempt the lead in the administration. But his spirit and active powers were by this time on the decline; he had given himself up to the pleasures of ease and the enjoyments of wealth. However, he bore up against Pompey with some vigour at first, and got his acts confirmed, which his adversary had annulled; having a majority in the senate through the assistance of Cato.

Pompey, thus worsted in the senate, had recourse to the tribunes of the people and to the young plebeians. Clodius, the most daring and profligate of them all, received him with open arms, but at the same time subjected him to all the humours of the populace. He made him dangle after him in the *forum* in a manner far beneath his dignity, and insisted upon his supporting every bill that he proposed, and every speech that he made, to flatter and ingratiate himself with the people. And, as if the connection with him had been an honour instead of a disgrace, he demanded still higher wages; that Pompey should give up Cicero, who had ever been his fast friend, and of the greatest use to him in the administration. And these wages he obtained. For when Cicero came to be in danger, and requested Pompey's assistance, he refused to see him, and shutting his gates against those that came to intercede for him, went out at a back door. Cicero, therefore, dreading the issue of the trial, departed privately from Rome.

At this time Cæsar, returning from his province,¹ undertook an affair, which rendered him very popular at present, and in its consequences gained him power, but proved a great prejudice to Pompey and to the whole commonwealth. He was then soliciting his first consulship, and Crassus and Pompey being at variance, he perceived that if he should join the one, the other would be his enemy of course; he therefore set himself to reconcile them. A

¹ It was not at the time of Cicero's going into exile that Cæsar returned from his province in Spain, which he had governed with the title of prætor, but two

years before. Cæsar returned in the year of Rome 683, and Cicero quitted Rome in the year 685.

thing which seemed honourable in itself, and calculated for the public good ; but the intention was insidious, though deep laid and covered with the most refined policy. For *while the power of the state was divided, it kept it in an equilibrium, as the burden of a ship properly distributed keeps it from inclining to one side more than another, but when the power came to be all collected into one part, having nothing to counterbalance it, it overset and destroyed the commonwealth.* Hence it was, that when some were observing that the constitution was ruined by the difference which happened afterwards between Cæsar and Pompey, Cato said, "You are under a great mistake : it was not their late disagreement, but their former union and connection which gave the constitution the first and greatest blow."

To this union Cæsar owed his consulship. And he was no sooner appointed than he began to make his court to the indigent part of the people, by proposing laws for sending out colonies, and for the distribution of lands ; by which he descended from the dignity of a consul, and in some sort took upon him the office of a tribune. His colleague Bibulus opposed him, and Cato prepared to support Bibulus in the most strenuous manner ; when Cæsar placed Pompey by him upon the tribunal, and asked him, before the whole assembly, "Whether he approved his laws ?" and upon his answering in the affirmative, he put this farther question, "Then if any one shall with violence oppose these laws, will you come to the assistance of the people ?" Pompey answered, "I will certainly come ; and against those that threaten to take the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler."

Pompey till that day had never said anything so obnoxious ; and his friends could only say, by way of apology, that it was an expression which had escaped him. But it appeared by the subsequent events, that he was then entirely at Cæsar's devotion. For within a few days, *to the surprise of all the world, he married Julia, Cæsar's daughter, who had been promised to Cæpio, and was upon the point of being married to him. To appease the resentment of Cæpio, he gave him his own daughter, who had been before contracted to Faustus, the son of Sylla ; and Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.*

Pompey then filled the city with soldiers, and carried everything with open force. Upon Bibulus the consul's making his appearance in the *forum* together with Lucullus and Cato, the soldiers suddenly fell upon him, and broke his *fascēs*. Nay, one of them had the impudence to empty a basket of dung upon the head of Bibulus ; and two tribunes of the people, who accompanied him, were wounded. The *forum* thus cleared of all opposition, the law passed for the division of lands. The people, caught by this bait, became tame and tractable in all respects, and without questioning the expediency of any of their measures, silently gave their suffrages to whatever was proposed. The acts of Pompey, which Lucullus had contested, were confirmed ; and the two Gauls on this and the other side the Alps and Illyria, were allotted to Cæsar

for five years, with four complete legions. At the same time Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, and Gabinius, one of the most abandoned flatterers of Pompey, were pitched upon for consuls for the ensuing year.

Bibulus, finding matters thus carried, shut himself up in his house, and for the eight following months remained inattentive to the functions of his office¹; contenting himself with publishing manifestoes full of bitter invectives against Pompey and Cæsar. Cato, on this occasion, as if inspired with a spirit of prophecy, announced in full senate the calamities which would befall the commonwealth and Pompey himself. Lucullus, for his part, gave up all thoughts of state affairs, and betook himself to repose, as if age had disqualified him for the concerns of government. Upon which Pompey observed, "That it was more unseasonable for an old man to give himself up to luxury than to bear a public employment." Yet, notwithstanding this observation, he soon suffered himself to be effeminated by the love of a young woman; he gave up his time to her; he spent the day with her in his villas and gardens, to the entire neglect of public affairs; insomuch that Clodius the tribune began to despise him, and to engage in the boldest designs against him. For after he had banished Cicero, and sent Cato to Cyprus under pretence of giving him the command in that island; when Cæsar was gone upon his expedition into Gaul, and the tribune found the people entirely devoted to him, because he flattered their inclinations in all the measures he took, he attempted to annul some of Pompey's ordinances; *he took his prisoner Tigranes from him, kept him in his own custody*, and impeached some of his friends, in order to try in them the strength of Pompey's interest. At last, when Pompey appeared against one of these prosecutions, Clodius, having a crew of profligate and insolent wretches about him, ascended an eminence, and put the following questions, "Who is the licentious lord of Rome? Who is the man that seeks for a man?"² Who scratches his head with one finger?"³ And his creatures, like a chorus instructed in their part, upon his shaking his gown, answered aloud to every question, *Pompey*.⁴

These things gave Pompey uneasiness because it was a new thing to him to be spoken ill of, and he was entirely inexperienced in that sort of war. That which afflicted him most, was his perceiving that the senate were pleased to see him the object of

¹ Hence the wits of Rome, instead of saying, such a thing happened in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, said, it happened in the consulship of Julius and Cæsar.

² Τις αὐτῷ ζητεῖ ἀνδρα. Ζητεῖν ἀνδρα was a proverbial expression brought from Athens to Rome. It was taken originally from Æsop's seeking an honest man with a lantern at noonday; and by degrees it came to signify the loss of manhood or the manly character, which

lost Pompey was allowed to have sustained in the embraces of Julia.

³ *Uno seipso digito* was likewise a proverbial expression for a Roman pettish matter.

⁴ Plutarch does not here keep exactly to the order of time. This happened in the year of Rome 697, as appears from Dio (Book xxxix.), that is, two years after what he is going to mention concerning that tribune's slave being taken with a sword.

reproach, and punished for his desertion of Cicero. But when parties ran so high that they came to blows in the *forum*, and several were wounded on both sides, and one of the servants of Clodius was observed to creep in among the crowd, towards Pompey, with a drawn sword in his hand, he was furnished with an excuse for not attending the public assemblies. Besides, he was really afraid to stand the impudence of Clodius, and all the torrent of abuse that might be expected from him, and therefore made his appearance no more during his tribuneship, but consulted in private with his friends how to disarm the anger of the senate and the valuable part of the citizens. Culleo advised him to repudiate Julia, and to exchange the friendship of Cæsar for that of the senate; but he would not hearken to the proposal. Others proposed that he should recall Cicero, who was not only an avowed enemy to Clodius, but the favourite to the senate; and he agreed to that overture. Accordingly, with a strong body of his retainers, he conducted Cicero's brother into the *forum*, who was to apply to the people in his behalf, and after a scuffle, in which several were wounded, and some slain, he overpowered Clodius, and obtained a decree for the restoration of Cicero. Immediately upon his return the orator reconciled the senate to Pompey, and by effectually recommending the law which was to intrust him with the care of supplying Rome with corn,¹ he made Pompey once more master of the Roman empire, both by sea and land. For by this law the ports, the markets, the disposal of provisions, in a word, the whole business of the merchant and the husbandman, were brought under his jurisdiction.

Clodius, on the other hand, alleged, "That the law was not made on account of the real scarcity of provisions, but that an artificial scarcity was caused for the sake of procuring the law, and that Pompey, by a new commission, might bring his power to life again, which was sunk, as it were, in a *deliquitum*." Others say, it was the contrivance of the consul Spinther, to procure Pompey a superior employment, that he might himself be sent to re-establish Ptolemy in his kingdom."

However the tribune Canidius brought him a bill, the purport of which was, that Pompey should be sent without an army, and with only two *lictors*, to reconcile the Alexandrians to their king. Pompey did not appear displeased at the bill; but the senate threw it out, under the honourable pretence of not hazarding his person. Nevertheless, papers were found scattered in the *forum* and before the senate-house, importing that Ptolemy himself desired that Pompey might be employed to act for him instead of Spinther. Timagenes pretends, that Ptolemy left Egypt without any necessity, at the persuasion of Theophanes, who was desirous to give Pompey new occasions to enrich himself and the honour of new commands.

¹ The law also gave Pompey proconsular authority for five years, both in and out of Italy. D. c. lib. xxxix.

² Ptolemy Auletes, the son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, hated by his subjects, and

forced to fly, applied to the consul Spinther, who has to have the province of Cilicia, to re-establish him in his kingdom. Dio, *ubi supra*.

But the baseness of Theophanes does not so much support this story, as the disposition of Pompey discredits it; for there was nothing so mean and illiberal in his ambition.

The whole care of providing and importing corn being committed to Pompey, he sent his deputies and agents into various parts, and went in person into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, where he collected great quantities. When he was upon the point of re-embarking, a violent wind sprung up, and the mariners made a difficulty of putting to sea; but he was the first to go on board, and he ordered them to weigh anchor, with these decisive words, "It is necessary to go; it is necessary to live." His success was answerable to his spirit and intrepidity. He filled the markets with corn, and covered the sea with his ships; insomuch that the overplus afforded a supply to foreigners, and from Rome, as from a fountain, plenty flowed over the world.

In the meantime the wars in Gaul lifted Cæsar to the first sphere of greatness. The scene of action was at a great distance from Rome, and he seemed to be wholly engaged with the Belgæ, the Suevi, and the Britons; but his genius all the while was privately at work among the people of Rome, and he was undermining Pompey in his most essential interests. His war with the barbarians was not his principal object. He exercised his army, indeed, in those expeditions, as he would have done his own body, in hunting and other diversions of the field; by which he prepared them for higher conflicts, and rendered them not only formidable but invincible.

The gold and silver, and other rich spoils which he took from the enemy in great abundance, he sent to Rome; and by distributing them freely among the ædiles, prætors, consuls, and their wives, he gained a great party. Consequently when he passed the Alps and wintered at Lucca, among the crowd of men and women, who hastened to pay their respects to him, there were 200 senators, Pompey and Crassus of the number; and there were no fewer than 120 pro-consuls and prætors, whose *fascæ* were to be seen at the gates of Cæsar. He made it his business in general to give them hopes of great things, and his money was at their devotion; but he entered into a treaty with Crassus and Pompey, by which it was agreed that they should apply for the consulship, and that Cæsar should assist them, by sending a great number of his soldiers to vote at the election. As soon as they were chosen, they were to share the provinces, and take the command of armies, according to their pleasure, only confirming Cæsar in the possession of what he had, for five years more.

As soon as this treaty got air, the principal persons in Rome were highly offended at it. Marcellinus, then consul, planted himself amidst the people, and asked Pompey and Crassus, "Whether they intended to stand for the consulship?" Pompey spoke first, and said,¹ "Perhaps he might, perhaps he might not." Crassus

¹ Dio makes him return an answer more suitable to his character—"It is not of

answered with more moderation, "He should do what might appear most expedient for the commonwealth." As Marcellinus continued the discourse against Pompey, and seemed to bear hard upon him, Pompey said, "Where is the honour of that man, who has neither gratitude nor respect for him who made him an orator, who rescued him from want, and raised him to affluence?"

Others declined soliciting the consulship, but Lucius Domitius was persuaded and encouraged by Cato not to give it up. "For the dispute," he told him, "was not for the consulship, but in defence of liberty, against tyrants." Pompey and his adherents saw the vigour with which Cato acted, and that all the senate was on his side. Consequently they were afraid that, so supported, he might bring over the uncorrupted part of the people. They resolved, therefore, not to suffer Domitius to enter the *forum*, and sent a party of men well armed, who killed Melitus, the torch-bearer, and put the rest to flight. Cato retired the last, and not till after he had received a wound in his right elbow in defending Domitius.

Thus they obtained the consulship by violence, and the rest of their measures were not conducted with more moderation. For, in the first place, when the people were going to choose Cato prætor, at the instant their suffrages were to be taken, Pompey dismissed the assembly, pretending he had seen an inauspicious flight of birds.¹ Afterwards the tribes, corrupted with money, declared Antius and Vatinius prætors. Then, in pursuance of their agreement with Cæsar, they put Trebonius one of the tribunes, on proposing a decree, by which the government of the Gauls was continued for five years more to Cæsar; Syria, and the command against the Parthians, were given to Crassus; and Pompey was to have all Africa, and both the Spains, with four legions, two of which he lent to Cæsar, at his request, for the war in Gaul.

Crassus, upon the expiration of his consulship, repaired to his province. Pompey, remaining at Rome, opened his theatre; and, to make the dedication more magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnastic games, entertainments of music, and battles with wild beasts, in which were killed 500 lions; but the battle of elephants afforded the most astonishing spectacle.² These things gained him the love and admiration of the public; but he incurred their displeasure again, by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife

account of the virtuous and the good that I desire any share in the magistracy, but that I may be able to restrain the ill-disposed and the seditions."

¹ This was making religion merely an engine of state, and it often proved a very convenient one for the purposes of ambition. Clodius, though otherwise one of the vilest tribunes that ever existed, was very right in attempting to put a stop to that means of dissolving an assembly. He preferred a bill, that no magistrate

should make any observations in the heavens while the people were assembled.

² Dio says, the elephants fought with armed men. There were no less than 14 of them; and he adds, that some of them seemed to appeal, with piteous cries, to the people; who, in compassion, saved their lives. It was may believe him, an oath had been taken before they left Africa, that no injury should be done them.

from one villa to another. Whether it was his passion for her, or hers for him, that kept him so much with her, is uncertain. For the latter has been supposed to be the case, and nothing was more talked of than the fondness of that young woman for her husband, though at that age his person could hardly be any great object of desire. But the charm of his fidelity was the cause, together with his conversation, which, notwithstanding his natural gravity, was particularly agreeable to the women, if we may allow the courtesan Flora to be a sufficient evidence. This strong attachment of Julia appeared on occasion of an election of ædiles. The people came to blows, and some were killed so near Pompey that he was covered with blood, and forced to change his clothes. There was a great crowd and tumult about his door, when his servants went home with the bloody robe; and Julia, who was with child, happening to see it, fainted away, and was with difficulty recovered. However, such was her terror and the agitation of her spirits, that she miscarried. After this, those who complained most of Pompey's connection with Cæsar could not find fault with his love of Julia. She was pregnant afterwards, and brought him a daughter, but unfortunately died in childbed; nor did the child long survive her. Pompey was preparing to bury her near a seat of his at Alba, but the people seized the corpse, and interred it in the *Campus Martius*. This they did more out of regard to the young woman, than either to Pompey or Cæsar; yet in the honours they did her remains, their attachment to Cæsar, though at a distance, had a greater share, than any respect for Pompey, who was on the spot.

Immediately after Julia's death, the people of Rome were in great agitation, and there was nothing in their speeches and actions which did not tend to a rupture. The alliance, which rather covered than restrained the ambition of the two great competitors for power, was now no more. To add to the misfortune, news was brought soon after that Crassus was slain by the Parthians; and in him another great obstacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they had both kept some measures with each other. But when fortune had carried off the champion who could take up the conqueror, we may say with the comic poet,

—High spirit of emprise
 Elates each chief; they oil their brawny limbs,
 And dip their hands in dust.—

So little able is fortune to fill the capacities of the human mind; when such a weight of power, and extent of command, could not satisfy the ambition of two men. They had heard and read that the gods had divided the universe into three shares,¹ and each was

¹ Ptolemy alludes here to a passage in the fifteenth book of the *Iliad*, where Neptune says to Iris, "Assign'd by lot our triple rule we know; Infernal Pluto sways the shades below; O'er the wide clouds and o'er the stazy plain,

Ethereal Jove extends his high domain;
 My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
 And hush the roarings of the sacred deep."

Fora

content with that which fell to his lot, and yet these men could not think the Roman empire sufficient for two of them.

Yet Pompey, in an address to the people at that time, told them, "He had received every commission they had honoured him with, sooner than he expected himself; and laid it down sooner than was expected by the world." And, indeed, the dismissal of his troops always bore witness to the truth of that assertion. But now, being persuaded that Caesar would not disband his army, he endeavoured to fortify himself against him by great employments at home; and this without attempting any other innovation. For he would not appear to distrust him; on the contrary, he rather affected to despise him. However, when he saw the great offices of state not disposed of agreeably to his desire, but that the people were influenced, and his adversaries preferred for money, he thought it would best serve his cause to suffer anarchy to prevail. *In consequence of the reigning disorders, a dictator was much talked of.* Lucilius, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to propose it in form to the people, and he exhorted them to choose Pompey dictator. Cato opposed it so effectually that the tribune was in danger of being deposed. Many of Pompey's friends then stood up in defence of the purity of his intentions, and declared, he neither asked nor wished for the dictatorship. Cato, upon this, paid the highest compliments to Pompey, and entreated him to assist in the support of order and of the constitution. Pompey could not but accede to such a proposal, and Domitius and Messala were elected consuls.¹

The same anarchy and confusion afterwards took place again, and numbers began to talk more boldly of setting up a dictator. Cato, now fearing he should be overborne, was of opinion that it were better to give Pompey some office whose authority was limited by law, than to intrust him with absolute power. Bibulus, though Pompey's declared enemy, moved in full senate, that he should be appointed sole consul. "For by that means," said he, "the commonwealth will either recover from her disorder, or, if she must serve, will serve a man of the greatest merit." The whole house was surprised at the motion; and when Cato rose up, it was expected he would oppose it. A profound silence ensued, and he said, "He should never have been the first to propose such an expedient, but as it was proposed by another, he thought it advisable to embrace it: for he thought any kind of government better than anarchy, and knew no man fitter to rule than Pompey in a time of so much trouble." The senate came into his opinion, and *a decree was issued, that Pompey should be appointed sole consul,* and that if he should have need of a colleague, he might choose

¹ In the year of Rome 700. Such corruption now prevailed among the Romans that candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where they distributed it, without blushing, among the heads of

factions; and those who received it employed furies and violence in favour of those persons who paid them; so that scarce any office was disposed of but what had been disputed with the sword, and cost the lives of many citizens.

one himself, provided it were not before the expiration of two months.

Pompey being declared sole consul by the *Interrex* Sulpitius, made his compliments to Cato, acknowledged himself much indebted to his support, and desired his assistance and advice in the cabinet, as to the measures to be pursued in his administration. Cato made answer, "That Pompey was not under the least obligation to him; for what he had said was not out of regard to him, but to his country. If you apply to me," continued he, "I shall give you my advice in private; if not, I shall inform you of my sentiments in public." Such was Cato, and the same on all occasions.

Pompey then went into the city, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio.¹ She was not a virgin, but a widow, having been married, when very young, to Publius the son of Crassus, who was lately killed in the Parthian expedition. *This woman had many charms besides her beauty. She was well versed in polite literature: she played upon the lyre, and understood geometry; and she had made considerable improvements by the precepts of philosophy. What is more, she had nothing of that petulance and affectation which such studies are apt to produce in women of her age.* And her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable.

Many, however, were displeased with this match, on account of the disproportion of years; they thought Cornelia would have been more suitable to his son than to him. Those that were capable of deeper reflection thought the concerns of the commonwealth neglected, which in a distressful case had chosen him for its physician, and confided in him alone. *It grieved them to see him crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice amidst the festivities of marriage, when he ought to have considered his consulship as a public calamity, since it would never have been given him in a manner so contrary to the laws, had his country been in a prosperous situation.*

His first step was to bring those to account who gained offices and employments by bribery and corruption, and he made laws by which the proceedings in their trials were to be regulated. In other respects he behaved with great dignity and honour; and restored security, order, and tranquillity, to the courts of judicature, by presiding there in person with a band of soldiers. But when Scipio, his father-in-law, came to be impeached, he sent for the 360 judges to his house, and desired their assistance. The accuser, seeing Scipio conducted out of the *forum* to his house, by the judges themselves, dropped the prosecution. This again exposed Pompey to censure; but he was censured still more, when after having made a law against encomiums on persons accused, he broke it himself, by appearing for Plancus, and attempting to embellish his character. Cato, who happened to be one of the judges, stopped

¹ The son of Scipio Nasica, but adopted into the family of the Metelli.

his ears; declaring, "It was not right for him to hear such embellishments, contrary to law." Cato, therefore, was objected to and set aside before sentence was passed. Plancus, however, was condemned by the other judges, to the great confusion of Pompey.¹

A few days after, Hypsæus, a man of consular dignity, being under a criminal prosecution, watched Pompey going from the bath to supper, and embraced his knees in the most suppliant manner. But Pompey passed with disdain, and all the answer he gave him was, "That his importunities served only to spoil his supper." This partial and unequal behaviour was justly the object of reproach. But all the rest of his conduct merited praise, and *he had the happiness to re-establish good order in the commonwealth.* He took his father-in-law for his colleague the remaining five months. His governments were continued to him for four years more, and he was allowed a thousand talents a year for the subsistence and pay of his troops.

Cæsar's friends laid hold on this occasion to represent that some consideration should be had of him too, and his many great and laborious services for his country. They said, he certainly deserved either another consulship, or to have the term of his commission prolonged; that he might keep the command in the provinces he had conquered, and enjoy, undisturbed, the honours he had won, and that no successor might rob him of the fruit of his labours or the glory of his actions. A dispute arising upon the affair, Pompey, as if inclined to fence against the odium to which Cæsar might be exposed by this demand, said, he had letters from Cæsar, in which he declared himself willing to accept a successor, and to give up the command in Gaul; only he thought it reasonable that he should be permitted, though absent, to stand for the consulship.² Cato opposed this with all his force, and insisted, "That Cæsar should lay down his arms, and return as a private man, if he had any favour to ask of his country." And as Pompey did not pursue the point, but easily acquiesced, it was suspected that he had no real friendship for Cæsar. This appeared more clearly, when he sent for the two legions which he had lent him, under pretence of wanting them for the Parthian war. Cæsar, though he well knew for what purpose the legions were demanded, sent them home laden with rich presents.

After this, Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples, from which however, he recovered. Praxagoras then advised the Neapolitans to offer sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for his recovery. The neighbouring cities followed their example; and the humour spreading itself over Italy, there was not a town or village which did not solemnise the occasion with festivals. No

¹ Cicero, who managed the impeachment, was much delighted with the success of his eloquence; as appears from his epistle to Marina, lib. vii. ep. 2.

² There was a law against any absent

person's being admitted a candidate; but Pompey had added a clause which empowered the people to exempt any man by name from personal attendance.

place could afford room for the crowds that came in from all quarters to meet him ; the high roads, the villages, the ports were filled with sacrifices and entertainments. Many received him with garlands on their heads and torches in their hands, and, as they conducted him on his way, strewed it with flowers. His returning with such pomp afforded a glorious spectacle ; but it is said to have been one of the principal causes of the civil war. For the joy he conceived on this occasion, added to the high opinion he had of his achievements, intoxicated him so far, that, bidding adieu to the caution and prudence which had put his good fortune and the glory of his actions upon a sure footing, he gave into the most extravagant presumption, and even contempt of Cæsar ; insomuch, that he declared, "He had no need of arms, nor any extraordinary preparations against him, since he could pull him down with much more ease than he had set him up."

Besides when Appius returned from Gaul with the legions which had been lent to Cæsar, he endeavoured to disparage the actions of that general, and to represent him in a mean light. "Pompey," he said, "knew not his own strength and the influence of his name, if he sought any other defence against Cæsar, upon whom his own forces would turn, as soon as they saw the former ; such was their hatred of the one, and their affection for the other."

Pompey was so much elated at this account, and his confidence made him so extremely negligent, that he laughed at those who seemed to fear the war. And when they said, that if Cæsar should advance in a hostile manner to Rome, they did not see what forces they had to oppose him, he bade them, with an open and smiling countenance, give themselves no pain. "For, if in Italy," said he, "I do but stamp upon the ground, an army will appear."

Meantime Cæsar was exerting himself greatly. He was now at no great distance from Italy, and not only sent his soldiers to vote in the elections, but by private pecuniary applications, corrupted many of the magistrates. Paulus the consul was of the number, and he had 1,500 talents¹ for changing sides. So were also Curius, one of the tribunes of the people, for whom he paid off an immense debt, and Mark Antony, who, out of friendship for Curius, had stood engaged with him for the debt.

It is said, that when one of Cæsar's officers, who stood before the senate-house, waiting the issue of the debates, was informed, that they would not give Cæsar a longer term in his command, he laid his hand upon his sword, and said, "*But this shall give it.*"

Indeed all the actions, and preparations of his general tended that way ; though Curius's demands in behalf of Cæsar seemed more plausible. He proposed, that either Pompey should likewise be obliged to dismiss his forces, or Cæsar suffered to keep his. "If they are both reduced to a private station," said he, "they will agree upon reasonable terms : or, if each retains his respective

¹ £110,000 sterling. With this money he built the statue Basilica, the temple afterwards bore his name.

power, they will be satisfied. But he who weakens the one, without doing the same by the other, must double that force which he fears will subvert the government."¹

Hereupon Marcellus the consul called Cæsar a public robber, and insisted that he should be declared an enemy to the state, if he did not lay down his arms. However, Curio, together with Antony and Piso, prevailed so that a farther inquiry should be made into the sense of the senate. He first proposed, that such as were of opinion, "That Cæsar should disband his army, and Pompey keep his," should draw to one side of the house, and there appeared a majority for that motion. Then he proposed, that the number of those should be taken, whose sense it was, "That both should lay down their arms, and neither remain in command; upon which question, Pompey had only twenty-two, and Curio all the rest." Curio, proud of his victory, ran in transports of joy to the assembly of the people, who received him with the loudest plaudits, and crowned him with flowers. Pompey was not present at the debate in the house; for *the commander of an army is not allowed to enter the city*. But Marcellus rose up and said, "I will no longer sit to hear the matter canvassed; but, as I see ten legions have already passed the Alps, I will send a man to oppose them in behalf of my country."

Upon this, the city went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. Marcellus walked through the *forum*, followed by the senate, and when he was in sight of Pompey without the gate, he said, "Pompey, I charge you to assist your country; for which purpose you shall make use of the troops you have, and levy what new ones you please." Lentulus, one of the consuls elect for the next year, said the same. But when Pompey came to make new levies, some absolutely refused to enlist; others gave in their names in small numbers and with no spirit; and the greatest part cried out, "A peace! A peace!" For Antony, notwithstanding the injunctions of the senate to the contrary, had read a letter of Cæsar's to the people, well calculated to gain them. He proposed, that both Pompey and he should resign their governments and dismiss their forces, and then come and give an account of their conduct to the people.

Lentulus, who by this time had entered upon his office, would not assemble the senate; for Cicero, who was now returned from his government in Cilicia, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation. He proposed, that Cæsar should give up Gaul and disband the greatest part of his army, and keeping only two legions and the province of Illyricum, wait for another consulship. As Pompey received this proposal very ill, Cæsar's friends were persuaded to

¹ Cornelius Scipio, one of Pompey's friends, reason tried, that, in the present case, a great difference was to be made between the proconsul of Spain and the proconsul of Gaul, since the term of

the former was not expired, whereas that of the latter was.

² Dio, on the contrary, affirms that, upon this question, the senate were almost unanimous for Pompey; only two voting for Cæsar, viz., Marcus Cæcilius and Curio

agree, that he should only keep one of those two legions. But Lentulus was against it, and Cato cried out, "That Pompey was committing a second error, in suffering himself to be so imposed upon;" the reconciliation, therefore, did not take effect.

At the same time news was brought, that Cæsar had seized Arminium, a considerable city in Italy, and that he was marching directly towards Rome with all his forces. The last circumstance, indeed, was not true. He advanced with only 300 horse and 5,000 foot; the rest of his forces were on the other side of the Alps, and he would not wait for them, choosing rather to put his adversaries in confusion by a sudden and unexpected attack, than to fight them when better prepared. *When he came to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he stood silent a long time, weighing with himself the greatness of his enterprise. At last, like one who plunges down from the top of a precipice into a gulf of immense depth, he silenced his reason, and shut his eyes against the danger; and crying out, in the Greek language, "The die is cast," he marched over with his army.*

Upon the first report of this at Rome, the city was in greater disorder and astonishment than had ever been known. The senate and the magistrates ran immediately to Pompey. Lucius Volcatius Tullus asked him, what forces he had ready for war; and as he hesitated in his answer, and only said at last, in a tone of no great assurance, "That he had the two legions lately sent him back by Cæsar, and that out of the new levies he believed he should shortly be able to make up a body of 30,000 men;" Tullus exclaimed, "O Pompey! you have deceived us;" and gave it as his opinion, that ambassadors should immediately be despatched to Cæsar. Then one Favonius, a man otherwise of no ill character, but who, by an insolent brutality, affected to imitate the noble freedom of Cato, bade Pompey "stamp upon the ground, and call forth the armies he had promised."

Pompey bore this ill-timed reproach with great mildness; and when Cato put him in mind of the warnings he had given him as to Cæsar, from the first, he said, "Cato indeed had spoken more like a prophet, and *he* had acted more like a friend." Cato then advised that Pompey should not only be appointed general, but invested with a discretionary power: adding that, "those who were the authors of great evils knew best how to cure them." So saying, he set out for his province of Sicily, and the other great officers departed for theirs.

Almost all Italy was now in motion, and nothing could be more perplexed than the whole face of things. Those who lived out of Rome fled to it from all quarters, and those who lived in it abandoned it as fast. These saw, that in such a tempestuous and disorderly state of affairs, the well disposed part of the city wanted strength, and that the ill disposed were so refractory that they could not be managed by the magistrates. The terrors of the people could not be removed, and no one would suffer Pompey to lay a plan of action for himself. According to the passion where-

with each was actuated, whether fear, sorrow, or doubt, they endeavoured to inspire him with the same; insomuch that he adopted different measures the same day. He could gain no certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, because every man brought him the report he happened to take up, and was angry if it did not meet with credit.

Pompey at last caused it to be declared by an edict in form, that the commonwealth was in danger, and no peace to be expected. After which, he signified that he should look upon those who remained in the city as the partisans of Cæsar; and then quitted it in the dusk of the evening. *The consuls also fled, without offering the sacrifices which their customs required before a war.* However, in this great extremity, Pompey could not but be considered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many blamed the war, there was not a man who hated the general. Nay, the number of those who followed him, out of attachment to his person, was greater than that of the adventurers in the cause of liberty.

A few days after, Cæsar arrived at Rome. When he was in possession of the city, he behaved with great moderation in many respects, and composed, in a good measure, the minds of its remaining inhabitants. Only when Metellus, one of the tribunes of the people, forbade him to touch the money in the public treasury, he threatened him with death, adding an expression more terrible than the threat itself, "That it was easier for him to do it than to say it." Metellus being thus frightened off, Cæsar took what sums he wanted, and then went in pursuit of Pompey; hastening to drive him out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain.

Pompey, who was master of Brundisium, and had a sufficient number of transports, desired the consuls to embark without loss of time, and sent them before him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrhachium. But the same time he sent his father-in-law Scipio and his son Cnæus into Syrius, to provide ships of war. He had well secured the gates of the city, and planted the lightest of his slingers and archers upon the walls; and having now ordered the Brundisians to keep within doors, he caused a number of trenches to be cut, and sharp stakes to be driven into them, and then covered with earth, in all the streets except two which led down to the sea. In three days all his other troops were embarked without interruption; and then he suddenly gave the signal to those who guarded the walls; in consequence of which, they ran swiftly down to the harbour, and got on board. Thus having his whole complement, he set sail, and crossed the sea to Dyrrhachium.

When Cæsar came and saw the walls left destitute of defence,¹ he concluded that Pompey had taken to flight, and in his eagerness to pursue, would certainly have fallen upon the sharp stakes in the

¹ Cæsar besieged the place nine days, during which he not only invested it on the land side, but undertook to shut up

the port by a stoecade of his own invention. However, before the work could be completed, Pompey made his escape.

trenches, had not the Brundisians informed him of them. He then avoided the streets, and took a circuit round the town, by which he discovered that all the vessels were set out, except two that had not many soldiers aboard.

This manœuvre of Pompey was commonly reckoned among the greatest acts of generalship. Cæsar, however, could not help wondering, that his adversary, who was in possession of a fortified town, and expected his forces from Spain, and at the same time was master of the sea, should give up Italy in such a manner. Cicero,¹ too, blamed him for imitating the conduct of Themistocles, rather than that of Pericles, when the posture of his affairs more resembled the circumstances of the latter. On the other hand, the steps which Cæsar took showed he was afraid of having the war drawn out to any length : for having taken Numerius,² a friend of Pompey's, he had sent him to Brundisium, with offers of coming to an accommodation upon reasonable terms. But Numerius, instead of returning with an answer, sailed away with Pompey.

Cæsar thus made himself master of all Italy in sixty days without the least bloodshed, and he would have been glad to have gone immediately in pursuit of Pompey. But as he was in want of shipping, he gave up that design for the present, and marched to Spain, with an intent to gain the forces there.

In the meantime Pompey assembled a great army ; and at sea he was altogether invincible. For he had 500 ships of war, and the number of his lighter vessels was still greater. As for his land forces, he had 7,000 horse, the flower of Rome and Italy,³ all men of family, fortune, and courage. His infantry, though numerous, was a mixture of raw, undisciplined soldiers : he therefore exercised them during his stay at Beroea, where he was by no means idle, but went through all the exercises of a soldier, as if he had been in the flower of his age. It inspired his troops with new courage, when they saw Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight, going through the whole military discipline, in heavy armour, on foot ; and then mounting his horse, drawing his sword with ease when at full speed, and as dexterously sheathing it again. As to the javelin, he threw it not only with great exactness, but with such force that few of the young men could dart it to a greater distance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp, and the number of Roman officers who had commanded armies was so great, that it was sufficient to make up a complete senate. Labienus,⁴ who

¹ Ep. to Atticus, vii. 11.

² Cæsar calls him *Q. Magnus*. He was Master of Pompey's Board of Works.

³ Cæsar on the contrary says, that this body of horse was almost entirely composed of strangers. "There were 600 Galatians, 600 Cappadocians, as many Thracians, 300 Macedonians, 500 Gauls, or Germans, 800 raised out of his own estates, or out of his own retinue ;" and so of the rest, whom he particularly mentions, and tells us to what countries they belonged.

⁴ It seemed very strange, says Dio, that Labienus should abandon Cæsar, who had loaded him with honours and given him the command of all the forces on the other side of the Alps, while he was at Rome. But he gives this reason for it : "Labienus, elated with his immense wealth, and proud of his preferences, forgot himself to such a degree as to assume a character very unbecoming a person in his circumstances. He was even for putting himself upon an equality with Cæsar, who thereupon grew cool to

had been honoured with Cæsar's friendship, and served under him in Gaul, now joined Pompey. Even Brutus, the son of that Brutus who was killed by him not very fairly in the Cisalpine Gaul, a man of spirit, who had never spoken to Pompey before because he considered him as the murderer of his father, now ranged himself under his banners, as the defender of the liberties of his country. Cicero too, though he had written and advised otherwise, was ashamed not to appear in the number of those who hazarded their lives for Rome. Tadius Sextius, though extremely old, and maimed of one leg, repaired, among the rest, to his standard in Macedonia; and though others only laughed at the poor appearance he made, Pompey no sooner cast his eyes upon him than he rose up, and ran to meet him; considering it as a great proof of the justice of his cause, that, in spite of age and weakness, persons should come and seek danger with him, rather than stay at home in safety.

But after Pompey had assembled his senate, and at the motion of Cato, a decree was made, "*That no Roman should be killed except in battle, nor any city that was subject to the Romans be plundered.*" Pompey's party gained ground daily. Those who lived at too great a distance, or were too weak to take a share in the war, interested themselves in the cause as much as they were able, and, with words at least, contended for it; looking upon those as enemies both to the gods and men, who did not wish that Pompey might conquer.

Not but that Cæsar made a merciful use of his victories. He had lately made himself master of Pompey's forces in Spain, and though it was not without a battle, he dismissed the officers, and incorporated the troops with his own. After this, he passed the Alps again, and marched through Italy to Brundisium, where he arrived at the time of the winter solstice. There he crossed the sea, and landed at Oricum; from whence he despatched Vibullius,¹ one of Pompey's friends, whom he had brought prisoner thither, with proposals of a conference between him and Pompey, "in which they should agree to disband their armies within three days, renew their friendship, confirm it with solemn oaths, and then both return to Italy."

Pompey took this overture for another snare, and therefore drew down in haste to the sea, and secured all the forts and places of strength for land forces, as well as all the ports and other commodious stations for shipping; so that there was not a wind that blew, which did not bring him either provisions, or troops, or money. On the other hand, Cæsar was reduced to such straits, both by sea and land, that he was under the necessity of seeking a battle.—Accordingly, he attacked Pompey's entrenchments, and

wards him, and treated him with some reserve, which Labienus resented, and went over to Pompey."

¹ In the printed text it is, *Jubius*; but one of the manuscripts gives us *Vibullius*, which is the name he has in Cæsar's Comment. lib. iii. Vibullius Rufus travelled night and day, without allowing

himself any rest, till he reached Pompey's camp, who had not yet received advice of Cæsar's arrival; but was no sooner informed of the taking of Oricum and Apollonia, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches, reached Oricum before Cæsar.

bade him defiance daily. In most of these attacks and skirmishes he had the advantage; but one day was in danger of losing his whole army. Pompey fought with so much valour, that he put Cæsar's whole detachment to flight, after having killed 2,000 men upon the spot; but was either unable or afraid to pursue his blow, and enter their camp with them. Cæsar said to his friends on the occasion, "This day the victory had been the enemy's had their general known how to conquer."¹

Pompey's troops, elated with this success, were in great haste to come to a decisive battle. Nay, Pompey himself seemed to give in to their opinions by writing to the kings, the generals, and cities in his interest, in the style of a conqueror. Yet all this while he dreaded the issue of a general action, believing it much better, by length of time, by famine and fatigue, to tire out men who had been ever invincible in arms, and long accustomed to conquer when they fought together. Besides, he knew the infirmities of age had made them unfit for the other operations of war, for long marches and counter-marches, for digging trenches and building forts, and that, therefore, they wished for nothing so much as a battle. Pompey, with all these arguments, found it no easy matter to keep his army quiet.

After this last engagement, Cæsar was in such want of provisions, that he was forced to decamp, and he took his way through Athamania into Thessaly. This added so much to the high opinion Pompey's soldiers had of themselves, that it was impossible to keep it within bounds. They cried out with one voice, "Cæsar is fled." Some called upon the general to pursue; some to pass over into Italy. Others sent their friends and servants to Rome, to engage houses near the *forum*, for the convenience of soliciting the great officers of state. And not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Lesbos, to congratulate her upon the conclusion of the war.

On this great emergency, a council of war was called; in which Afranius gave it as his opinion, "That they ought immediately to regain Italy, for that was the great prize aimed at in the war. Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and both the Gauls would soon submit to those who were masters there. What should affect Pompey still more was, that his native country, just by, stretched out her hands to him as a suppliant; and it could not be consistent with his honour to let her remain under such indignities, and in so disgraceful a vassalage to the slaves and flatterers of tyrants." But Pompey thought it would neither be for his reputation, to fly a second time from Cæsar, and again to be pursued, when Fortune

¹ Yet it may be observed, in defence of Pompey, that as his troops were raw and inexperienced, it was not amiss to try them in many skirmishes and light attacks, before he hazarded a general engagement with an army of veterans. Many instances of that kind might be produced from the conduct of the ablest

generals. And we are persuaded that if Pompey had attempted to force Cæsar's camp he would have been repulsed with loss and disgrace. Pompey's greatest error seems to have been, his suffering himself to be brought to an action at last by the importunity of his officers and soldiers.

put it in his power to pursue ; nor agreeable to the laws of piety, to leave his father-in-law Scipio, and many other persons of consular dignity, in Greece and Thessaly, a prey to Cæsar, with all their treasures and forces. As for Rome, he should take the best care of her, by fixing the scene of war at the greatest distance from her that, without feeling its calamities, or perhaps hearing the report of them, she might quietly wait for the conqueror.

This opinion prevailing, he set out in pursuit of Cæsar, with a resolution not to hazard a battle, but to keep near enough to hold him, as it were besieged, and to wear him out with famine. This he thought the best method he could take ; and a report was, moreover, brought him, of its being whispered among the equestrian order, " That as soon as they had taken off Cæsar, they could do nothing better than take off him too." Some say, this was the reason why he did not employ Cato in any service of importance, but, upon his march against Cæsar, sent him to the sea-coast, to take care of the baggage, lest, after he had destroyed Cæsar, Cato should soon oblige him to lay down his commission.

While he thus softly followed the enemy's steps, a complaint was raised against him, and urged with much clamour, that he was not exercising his generalship upon Cæsar, but upon the senate and the whole commonwealth, in order that he might for ever keep the command in his hands, and have those for his guards and servants, who had a right to govern the world. Domitius Ænobarbus, to increase the *odium*, always called him Agamemnon, or king of kings. Favonius piqued him no less with a jest, than others by their unseasonable severity ; he went about crying, " My friends, we shall eat no figs in Tusculum this year." And Lucius Afranius who lost the forces in Spain, and was accused of having betrayed them into the enemy's hand, now when he saw Pompey avoid a battle, said, " He was surprised that his accusers should make any difficulty of fighting that merchant (as they called him) who trafficked for provinces."

These and many other like sallies of ridicule had such an effect upon Pompey, who was ambitious of being spoken well of by the world, and had too much deference for the opinions of his friends, that he gave up his own better judgment, to follow them in the career of their false hopes and prospects. A thing which would have been unpardonable in the pilot or master of a ship, much more in the commander-in-chief of so many nations, and such numerous armies. He had often commended the physician who gives no indulgence to the whimsical longings of his patients, and yet he humoured the sickly cravings of his army, and was afraid to give them pain, though necessary for the preservation of their life and being. For who can say that army was in a sound and healthy state, when some of the officers went about the camp canvassing for the offices of consul and prætor ; and others, namely, Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were engaged in quarrels and cabals about Cæsar's high-priesthood, as if their adversary had been only a Tigranes, a king of Armenia, or a prince of the

Nabathæans; and not that Cæsar and that army, who had stormed a thousand cities, subdued above three hundred nations, gained numberless battles of the Germans and Gauls, taken a million of prisoners, and killed as many fairly in the field. Notwithstanding all this, they continued loud and tumultuous in their demands of a battle, and when they came to the plains of Pharsalia, forced Pompey to call a council of war. Labienus, who had the command of the cavalry, rose up first, and took an oath, "That he would not return from the battle, till he had put the enemy to flight." All the other officers swore the same.

The night following, Pompey had this dream. He thought, "he entered his own theatre, and was received with loud plaudits; after which, he adorned the temple of Venus the Victorious with many spoils." This vision, on one side, encouraged him, and on the other alarmed him. He was afraid that Cæsar, who was a descendant of Venus, would be aggrandized at his expense. Besides, a panic¹ fear ran through the camp, the noise of which awakened him. And about the morning watch, over Cæsar's camp where everything was perfectly quiet, there suddenly appeared a great light, from which a stream of fire issued in the form of a torch, and fell upon that of Pompey. Cæsar himself says, he saw it as he was going his rounds.

Cæsar was preparing, at break of day, to march to Scotusa,² his soldiers were striking their tents, and the servants and beasts of burden were already in motion, when his scouts brought intelligence, that they had seen arms handed about in the enemy's camp, and perceived a noise and bustle, which indicated an approaching battle. After these, others came and assured him, that the first ranks were drawn up.

Upon this Cæsar said, "The long-wished day is come, on which we shall fight with men, and not with want and famine." Then he immediately ordered the red mantle to be put up before his pavilion, which, among the Romans, is the signal of a battle. The soldiers no sooner beheld it, than they left their tents as they were, and ran to arms with loud shouts, and every expression of joy. And when the officers began to put them in order of battle, each man fell into his proper rank as quietly, and with as much skill and ease, as a chorus in a tragedy.

Pompey³ placed himself in his right wing over against Antony, and his father-in-law, Scipio, in the centre, opposite Domitius Cal-

¹ Panic fears were so called, from the terror which the god Pan is said to have struck the enemies of Greece with, at the battle of Marathon.

² Scotusa was a city of Thessaly. Cæsar was persuaded that Pompey would not come to action, and therefore chose to march in search of provisions, as well as to harass the enemy with frequent movements, and to watch an opportunity, in some of those movements, to fall upon them.

³ It is somewhat surprising, that the account which Cæsar himself has left us of this memorable battle should meet with contradiction. Yet so it is: Plutarch differs widely from him, and Appian from both. According to Cæsar (Bell. Civil. lib. iii.), Pompey was on the left with the two legions, which Cæsar had returned him at the beginning of the war. Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from Syria, and the retnk res-

vinus. His left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and supported by the cavalry; for they were almost all ranged on that side, in order to break in upon Cæsar, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the bravest in his army, and in which he used to fight in person. Cæsar, seeing the enemy's left wing so well guarded with horse, and fearing the excellence of their armour, sent for a detachment of six cohorts from the body of reserve, and placed them behind the tenth legion, with orders not to stir before the attack, lest they should be discovered by the enemy; but when the enemy's cavalry had charged, to make up through the foremost ranks, and then not to discharge their javelins at a distance, as brave men generally do in their eagerness to come to sword in hand, but to reserve them till they came to close fighting, and push them forward into the eyes and faces of the enemy. "*For those fair young dancers,"* said he, "*will never stand the steel aimed at their eyes, but will fly to save their handsome faces.*"

While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey took a view on horseback of the order of both armies; and finding that the enemy kept their ranks with the utmost exactness, and quietly waited for the signal of battle, while his own men, for want of experience, were fluctuating and unsteady, he was afraid they would be broken upon the first onset. He therefore commanded the vanguard to stand firm in their ranks,¹ and in that close order to receive the enemy's charge. Cæsar condemned this measure, as not only tending to lessen the vigour of the blows, which is always greatest in the assailants, but also to damp the fire and spirit of the men; whereas those who advance with impetuosity, and animate each other with shouts, are filled with an enthusiastic valour and superior ardour.

Cæsar's army consisted of 22,000 men, and Pompey's was something more than twice that number. When the signal was given on both sides, and the trumpets sounded a charge, each common man attended only to his own concern. *But some of the principal Romans and Greeks, who only stood and looked on, when the dreadful moment of action approached, could not help considering to what the avarice and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire. The same arms on both sides, the troops marshalled in the same manner, the same standards; in short,*

ments sent by several kings and states of Asia. The Cilician legion, and some cohorts which had served in Spain, were in the right, under the command of Afranius. As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Philippi, he strengthened the left with the 7,000 horse, as well as with the slingers and archers. The whole army, consisting of 45,000 men, was drawn up in three lines, with very little space between them. In conformity to this disposition, Cæsar's army was drawn up in the following order: the tenth legion, which had on all occasions signalled itself above the rest, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been consider-

ably weakened in the action at Dyrrachium, the eighth legion was posted so near it, as to be able to support and reinforce it up on occasion. The rest of Cæsar's forces filled up the spaces between the two wings. Mark Antony commanded the left wing, Sylla the right, and Lucius Domitius Calvus the main body. As for Cæsar, he posted himself on the right over against Pompey, that he might have him always in sight.

¹ Vide Cæs. ubi supra.

This, however, must be said in excuse for Pompey, that generals of great fame and experience have sometimes done as he did.

the strength and flower of one and the same city turned upon itself! What could be a stronger proof of the blindness and infatuation of human nature, when carried away by its passions? Had they been willing to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace and tranquillity, the greatest and best part of the world was their own. Or, if they must have indulged their thirst of victories and triumphs, the Parthians and Germans were yet to be subdued; Scythia and India yet remained; together with a very plausible colour for their lust of new acquisitions, the pretence of civilising barbarians. And what Scythian horse, what Parthian arrows, what Indian treasures, could have resisted 70,000 Romans, led on by Pompey and Cæsar, with whose names those nations had long been acquainted? Into such a variety of wild and savage countries had these two generals carried their victorious arms. Whereas now they stood threatening each other with destruction; not sparing even their own glory, though to it they sacrificed their country, but prepared, one of them, to lose the reputation of being invincible, which hitherto they had both maintained. So that the alliance which they had contracted by Pompey's marriage with Julia was from the first only an artful expedient; and her charms were to form a self-interested compact, instead of being the pledge of a sincere friendship.

The plain of Pharsalia was now covered with men, and horses, and arms; and the signal of battle being given on both sides, the first on Cæsar's side who advanced to the charge was Caius Crastinus,¹ who commanded a corps of 120 men, and was determined to make good his promise to his general. He was the first man Cæsar saw when he went out of the trenches in the morning; and upon Cæsar's asking him what he thought of the battle, he stretched out his hand, and answered in a cheerful tone, "You will gain a glorious victory, and I shall have your praise this day, either alive or dead." In pursuance of this promise, he advanced the foremost, and many following to support him, he charged into the midst of the enemy. They soon took to their swords, and numbers were slain; but as Crastinus was making his way forward, and cutting down all before him, one of Pompey's men stood to receive him, and pushed his sword in at his mouth with such force, that it went through the nape of his neck. Crastinus thus killed, the fight was maintained with equal advantage on both sides.

Pompey did not immediately lead on his right wing, but often directed his eyes to the left, and lost time in waiting to see what execution his cavalry would do there. Meanwhile they had extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar, and prepared to drive the few horse he had placed in front, back upon the foot. At that instant Cæsar gave the signal: upon which his cavalry retreated a little; and the six cohorts, which consisted of 3,000 men, and had been placed behind the tenth legion, advanced to surround Pompey's cavalry; and coming close up to them, raised the points of

¹ So Cæsar calls him. His name in Plutarch is Crastinus; in Appian, Crastinus

their javelins, as they had been taught, and aimed them at the face. Their adversaries, who were not experienced in any kind of fighting, and had not the least previous idea of this, could not parry or endure the blows upon their faces, but turned their backs, or covered their eyes with their hands, and soon fled with great dishonour. Cæsar's men took no care to pursue them, but turned their force upon the enemy's infantry, particularly upon that wing, which, now stripped of its horse, lay open to the attack on all sides. The six cohorts, therefore, took them in flank, while the tenth legion charged them in front; and they, who had hoped to surround the enemy, and now, instead of that, saw themselves surrounded, made but a short resistance, and then took to a precipitate flight.

By the great dust that was raised, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry; and it is hard to say what passed in his mind at that moment. He appeared like a man moonstruck and distracted; and without considering that he was Pompey the Great, or speaking to any one, he quitted the ranks, and retired step by step towards his camp. A scene which cannot be better painted than in these verses of Homer:¹—

But partial Jove, espousing Hector's part,
Shot heaven-bred horror through the Grecian's heart;
Confused, unnerv'd in Hector's presence grown,
Amazed he stood with terror, not his own
O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,
And glaring round by tardy steps with row.—POPE.

In this condition he entered his tent, where he sat down, and uttered not a word, till at last, upon finding that some of the enemy entered the camp with the fugitives, he said, "What! into my camp too!" After this short exclamation, he rose up, and dressing himself in a manner suitable to his fortune, privately withdrew.² All the other legions fled; and a great slaughter was made in the camp, of the servants and others who had the care of the tents. But Asinius Pollio, who then fought on Cæsar's side, assures us, that of the regular troops there were not above 6,000 men killed.³

Upon the taking of the camp, there was a spectacle which showed, in strong colours, the vanity and folly of Pompey's troops.

¹ In the eleventh book of the *Iliad*, where he is speaking of the flight of Ajax before Hector.

² Cæsar tells us that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous resistance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them. But before he had finished his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire towards Dertosa. Cæsar pursued the fugitives at the head of four legions (not of the fourth legion, as the authors of the *Universal History* erroneously say), and after six miles' march came up with them. But they, not daring to engage troops flushed

with victory, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though Cæsar's men were quite spent, and ready to faint with the excessive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, yet, by his obliging manner, he prevailed upon them to cut off the convenience of the water from the enemy by a trench. Hereupon, the unfortunate fugitives came to a capitulation, threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who, as it was now night, escaped in the dark. *Vide* Cæsar. *Bell. lib. iii. 50*

³ Cæsar says, that in all there were 15,000 killed, and 24,000 taken prisoners.

All the tents were crowned with myrtle ; the beds were strewed with flowers ; the tables covered with cups, and bowls of wine set out. In short, everything had the appearance of preparations for feasts and sacrifices, rather than for men going out to battle. To such a degree had their vain hopes corrupted them, and with such a senseless confidence they took the field !

When Pompey had got at a little distance from the camp, he quitted his horse. He had very few people about him ; and, as he saw he was not pursued, he went softly on, wrapped up in such thoughts as we may suppose a man to have, who had been used for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before him, and now in his old age first came to know what it was to be defeated and to fly. We may easily conjecture what his thoughts must be, when in one short hour he had lost the glory and the power which had been growing up amidst so many wars and conflicts ; and he who was lately guarded with such armies of horse and foot, and such great and powerful fleets, was reduced to so mean and contemptible an equipage, that his enemies, who were in search of him, could not know him.

He passed by Larissa, and came to Tempe, where, burning with thirst, he threw himself upon his face, and drank out of the river ; after which, he passed through the valley, and went down to the sea-coast. There he spent the remainder of the night in a poor fisherman's cabin. Next morning, about break of day, he went on board a small river-boat, taking with him such of his company as were freemen. The slaves he dismissed, bidding them go to Cæsar, and fear nothing.

As he was coasting along, he saw a ship of burden just ready to sail ; the master of which was Peticius, a Roman citizen, who, though not acquainted with Pompey, knew him by sight. It happened that this man, the night before, dreamed he saw Pompey come and talk to him, not in the figure he had formerly known him, but in mean and melancholy circumstances. He was giving the passengers an account of his dream, as persons, who have a great deal of time upon their hands, love to discourse about such matters ; when, on a sudden, one of the mariners told him he saw a little boat rowing up to him from the land, and the crew making signs, by shaking their garments and stretching out their hands. Upon this, Peticius stood up, and could distinguish Pompey among them, in the same form as he had seen him in his dream. Then beating his head for sorrow, he ordered the seamen to let down the ship's boat, and held out his hand to Pompey to invite him aboard ; for by his dress he perceived his change of fortune. Therefore, without waiting for any further application, he took him up, and such of his companions as he thought proper, and then hoisted sail. The persons Pompey took with him, were the two Lentuli and Favonius ; and a little after, they saw king Deiotarus beckoning to them with great earnestness from the shore, and took him up likewise. The master of the ship provided them the best supper he could, and when it was almost ready, Pompey, for want

of a servant, was going to wash himself, but Favonius seeing it, stepped up, and both washed and anointed him. All the time he was on board, he continued to wait upon him in all the offices of a servant, even to the washing of his feet and providing his supper ; insomuch, that one who saw the unaffected simplicity and sincere attachment with which Favonius performed these offices, cried out,

—The generous mind a life's ignity
To every act, and nothing misbecomes it.

Pompey, in the course of his voyage, sailed by Amphipolis, and from thence steered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his son. As soon as he reached the island, he sent a messenger to the town with news far different from what Cornelia expected. For, by the flattering accounts which many officious persons had given her, she understood that the dispute was decided at Dyrrhachium, and that nothing but the pursuit of Cæsar remained to be attended to. The messenger, finding her possessed with such hopes, had not power to make the usual salutations ; but expressing the greatness of Pompey's misfortunes by his tears rather than words, only told her, "*She must make haste, if she had a mind to see Pompey with one ship only, and that not his own.*"

At this news Cornelia threw herself upon the ground, where she lay a long time insensible and speechless. At last, coming to herself, she perceived there was no time to be lost in tears and lamentations, and therefore hastened through the town to the sea. Pompey ran to meet her, and received her to his arms as she was just going to fall. While she hung upon his neck, she thus addressed him : "I see, my dear husband, your present unhappy condition is the effect of my ill fortune, and not yours. Alas ! how are you reduced to one poor vessel, who, before your marriage with Cornelia, traversed this sea with 500 galleys ! Why do you come to see me, and not rather leave me to my evil destiny, who have loaded you too with such a weight of calamities ! How happy had it been for me to have died before I heard that Publius, my first husband, was killed by the Parthians ! How wise, had I followed him to the grave, as I once intended ! What have I lived for since, but to bring misfortunes upon Pompey the Great ?"¹

Such, we are assured, was the speech of Cornelia ; and Pompey answered, "Till this moment, Cornelia, you have experienced nothing but the smiles of fortune ; and it was she who deceived you, because she stayed with me longer than she commonly does with her favourites. But, fated as we are, we must bear this reverse, and make another trial of her. For it is no more improbable, that

¹ Cornelia is represented by Lucan, too, as imputing the misfortunes of Pompey to her alliance with him ; and it seems, from one part of her speech on this occasion, that she should have been given to Cæsar.

Ut nūquam Thalamus invisi Cæsaris esset :
there were anything in this, it might

have been a material cause of the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey, as the latter, by means of this alliance, must have strengthened himself with the Crassian interest ; for Cornelia was the relict of Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus.

we may emerge from this poor condition, and rise to great things again, than it was that we should fall from great things into this poor condition."

Cornelia then sent to the city for her most valuable movables and her servants. The people of Mitylene came to pay their respects to Pompey, and to invite him to their city. But he refused to go, and bade them surrender themselves to the conqueror without fear; "For Cæsar," he told them, "had great clemency." After this, he turned to Cratippus the philosopher, who was come from the town to see him, and began to complain a little of Providence, and express some doubts concerning it. Cratippus made some concessions, and, turning the discourse, encouraged him to hope better things; that he might not give him pain, by an unseasonable opposition to his arguments; else he might have answered his objections against Providence, by showing, that the state, and indeed the constitution, was in such disorder, that it was necessary it should be changed into a monarchy. Or this one question would have silenced him, "How do we know, Pompey, that, if you had conquered, you would have made a better use of your good fortune than Cæsar?" But we must leave the determinations of Heaven to its superior wisdom.

As soon as his wife and friends were embarked, he set sail, and continued his course without touching at any port, except for water and provisions, till he came to Attalia, a city of Pamphylia. There he was joined by some Cilician galleys; and beside picking up a number of soldiers, he found in a little time sixty senators about him. When he was informed that his fleet was still entire, and that Cato was gone to Africa with a considerable body of men which he had collected after their flight, he lamented to his friends his great error, in suffering himself to be forced into an engagement at land, and making no use of those forces, in which he was confessedly stronger; nor even taking care to fight near his fleet, that, in case of his meeting with a check at land, he might have been supplied from sea with another army, capable of making head against the enemy. Indeed, we find no greater mistake in Pompey's whole conduct, nor a more remarkable instance of Cæsar's generalship, than in removing the scene of action to such a distance from the naval forces.

However, as it was necessary to undertake something with the small means he had left, he sent to some cities, and sailed to others himself, to raise money, and to get a supply of men for his ships. But knowing the extraordinary celerity of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be beforehand with him, and seize all that he was preparing. He, therefore, began to think of retiring to some asylum, and proposed the matter in council. They could not think of any province in the Roman empire that would afford a safe retreat; and when they cast their eyes on the foreign kingdoms, Pompey mentioned Parthia as the most likely to receive and protect them in their present weak condition, and afterwards to send them back with a force sufficient to retrieve their affairs.

Others were of opinion, it was proper to apply to Africa, and to Juba in particular. But Theophanes of Lesbos observed it was madness to leave Egypt, which was distant but three days' sail. Besides, Ptolemy,¹ who was growing towards manhood, had particular obligations to Pompey on his father's account; and should he go then, and put himself in the hands of the Parthians, the most perfidious people in the world? He represented what a wrong measure it would be, if, rather than trust to the clemency of a noble Roman, who was his father-in-law, and be contented with the second place of eminence, he would venture his person with Arsaces,² by whom even Crassus would not be taken alive. He added, that it would be extremely absurd to carry a young woman of the family of Scipio among barbarians, who thought power consisted in the display of insolence and outrage; and where, if she escaped unviolated, it would be believed she did not, after she had been with those who were capable of treating her with indignity. It is said, this last consideration only prevented his marching to the Euphrates; but it is some doubt with us, whether it was not rather his fate than his opinion, which directed his steps another way.

When it was determined that they should seek for refuge in Egypt, he set sail from Cyprus with Cornelia, in a Seleucian galley. The rest accompanied him, some in ships of war, and some in merchantmen: and they made a safe voyage. Being informed that Ptolemy was with his army at Pelusium, where he was engaged in war with his sister, he proceeded thither, and sent a messenger before him to notify his arrival, and to entreat the king's protection.

Ptolemy was very young, and Photinus, his prime minister, called a council of his ablest officers; though their advice had no more weight than he was pleased to allow it. He ordered each, however, to give his opinion. But who can, without indignation, consider, that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be determined by Photinus, an eunuch; by Theodotus, a man of Chios, who was hired to teach the prince rhetoric; and by Achilles, an Egyptian? For among the king's chamberlains and tutors, these had the greatest influence over him, and were the persons he most consulted. Pompey lay at anchor at some distance from the place, waiting the determination of this respectable board; while he thought it beneath him to be indebted to Cæsar for his safety. The council were divided in their opinions; some advising the prince to give him an honourable reception; and others to send him an order to depart. But Theodotus, to display his eloquence, insisted that both were wrong. "If you receive him," said he, "you will have

¹ This was Ptolemy Dionysius, the son of Ptolemy Ametæ, who died in the year of Rome 704, which was the year before the battle of Pharsalia. He was now in his fourteenth year.

² From this passage it appears, that

Arsaces was the common name of the kings of Parthia. For it was not the proper name of the king then upon the throne, nor of him who was at war with Crassus.

Cæsar for your enemy, and Pompey for your master. If you order him off, Pompey may one day revenge the affront, and Cæsar resent your not having put him in his hands : the best method, therefore, is to send for him, and put him to death. By this means you will do Cæsar a favour, and have nothing to fear from Pompey." He added, with a smile, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice being approved of, the execution of it was committed to Achilles. In consequence of which, he took with him Septimius, who had formerly been one of Pompey's officers, and Salvius, who had also acted under him as a centurion, with three or four assistants, and made up to Pompey's ship, where his principal friends and officers had assembled, to see how the affair went on. When they perceived there was nothing magnificent in their reception, nor suitable to the hopes which Theophanes had conceived, but that a few men only, in a fishing-boat, came to wait upon them, such want of respect appeared a suspicious circumstance ; and they advised Pompey, while he was out of the reach of missive weapons, to get out to the main sea.

Meantime, the boat approaching, Septimius spoke first, addressing Pompey, in Latin, by the title of *Imperator*. Then Achilles saluted him in Greek, and desired him to come into the boat, because the water was very shallow towards the shore, and a galley must strike upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's ships getting ready, and the shore covered with troops, so that if they would have changed their minds, it was then too late ; besides, their distrust would have furnished the assassins with a pretence for their injustice. He, therefore, embraced Cornelia, who lamented his sad exit before it happened ; and ordered two centurions, one of his enfranchised slaves named Phillip, and a servant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achilles had hold of his hand, and he was going to step in himself, he turned to his wife and son, and repeated that verse of Sophocles,

Break't thou a tyrant's door ? then farewell freedom !
Though FREE as air before——

These were the last words he spoke to them.

As there was a considerable distance between the galley and the shore, and he observed that not a man in the boat showed him the least civility, or even spoke to him, he looked at Septimius, and said, "Methinks, I remember you to have been my fellow-soldier : " but he answered only with a nod, without testifying any regard or friendship. A profound silence again taking place, Pompey took out a paper, in which he had written a speech in Greek, that he designed to make to Ptolemy, and amused himself with reading it.

When they approached the shore, Cornelia with her friends in the galley, watched the event with great anxiety. She was a little encouraged, when she saw a number of the king's great officers coming down to the strand, in all appearance to receive her husband and do him honour. But the moment Pompey was taking hold of Phillip's hand to raise him with more ease, Septimius came behind,

and run him through the body ; after which Salvius and Achilles also drew their swords. Pompey took his robe in both hands and covered his face ; and without saying or doing the least thing unworthy of him, submitted to his fate : only uttering a groan, while they despatched him with many blows. He was then just fifty-nine years old, for he was killed the day after his birth-day.¹

Cornelia, and her friends in the galleys, upon seeing him murdered, gave a shriek that was heard to the shore, and weighed anchor immediately. Their flight was assisted by a brisk gale, as they got out more to sea ; so that the Egyptians gave up their design of pursuing them. The murderers having cut off Pompey's head, threw the body out of the boat naked, and left it exposed to all who were desirous of such a sight. Philip stayed till their curiosity was satisfied, and then washed the body with sea-water, and wrapped it in one of his own garments, because he had nothing else at hand. The next thing was to look out for wood for the funeral-pile ; and casting his eyes over the shore, he spied the old remains of a fishing-boat ; which, though not large, would make a sufficient pile for a poor naked body that was not quite entire.

While he was collecting the pieces of plank and putting them together, an old Roman, who had made some of his first campaigns under Pompey, came up and said to Philip, "Who are you that are preparing the funeral of Pompey the Great?" Philip answered, "I am his freedman." "But you shall not," said the old Roman, "have this honour entirely to yourself. As a work of piety offers itself, let me have a share in it ; that I may not absolutely repent my having passed so many years in a foreign country ; but, to compensate many misfortunes, may have the consolation of doing some of the last honours to the greatest general Rome ever produced." In this manner was the funeral of Pompey conducted.

Next day Lucius Lentulus, who knew nothing of what had passed, because he was upon his voyage from Cyprus, arrived upon the Egyptian shore, and as he was coasting along, saw the funeral pile, and Philip, whom he did not yet know, standing by it. Upon which he said to himself, "Who has finished his days, and is going to leave his remains upon this shore ?" adding, after a short pause, with a sigh, "Ah ! Pompey the Great ! perhaps thou mayest be the man." Lentulus soon after went on shore, and was taken and slain.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. As for Caesar, he arrived not long after in Egypt, which he found in great disorder. When they came to present the head, he turned from it, and the person that brought it, as a sight of horror. He received the seal,

¹ Some divines, in saying that Pompey never prospered after he presumed to enter the sanctuary in the temple at Jerusalem, intimate that his misfortunes were owing to that profanation ; but we forbear with Plutarch, to comment on the providential determinations of the

supreme Being. Indeed he felt a sacrifice to as vile a set of people as he had before insulted ; for, the Jews excepted, there was not upon earth a more despicable race of men than the cowardly cruel Egyptians.

² Of touching and wrapping up the body.

but it was with tears. The device was a lion holding a sword. The two assassins, Achilles and Photinus, he put to death; and the king, being defeated in battle, perished in the river. Theodotus, the rhetorician, escaped the vengeance of Cæsar, by leaving Egypt, but he wandered about a miserable fugitive, and was hated wherever he went. At last, Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæsar, found the wretch, in his province of Asia, and put him to death, after having made him suffer the most exquisite tortures. The ashes of Pompey were carried to Cornelia, who buried them in his lands near Alba.¹

CATO THE YOUNGER.

THE family of Cato had its first lustre and distinction from his great grandfather, Cato the Censor,² a man whose virtue, as we have observed in his life, ranked him with persons of the greatest reputation and authority in Rome. The Utican Cato, of whom we are now speaking, was left an orphan, together with his brother Cæpio, and his sister Porcia. He had also another sister called Servilia, but she was only sister by the mother's side.³ The orphans were brought up in the house of Livius Drusus, their mother's brother, who at that time had great influence in the administration; to which he was entitled by his eloquence, his wisdom, and dignity of mind: excellencies that put him on an equality with the best of the Romans.

Cato, we are told, from his infancy discovered in his voice, his look, and his very diversions, a firmness and solidity, which neither passion nor anything else could move. He pursued every object he had in view with a vigour far above his years, and a resolution that nothing could resist. Those who were inclined to flatter were

¹ Pompey has, in all appearance, and in all considerations of his character, had less justice done him by historians than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his military and political skill, his prudence (which he sometimes unfortunately gave up), his natural bravery and generosity, his conjugal virtues, which (though sometimes impeached) were both naturally and morally great; his sense, which was certainly, in its original interests, the cause of Rome; all these circumstances entitled him to a more distinguished and more respectable character than any of his historians have thought proper to afford him. One circumstance, indeed, renders the accounts that the writers, who rose after the established monarchy, have given of his opposition, perfectly reconcilable to the prejudice which appears against him; or rather to

the reluctance which they have shown to that praise which they seemed to have felt that he deserved: When the commonwealth was no more, and the supporters of his interest had fallen with it, then history itself, not to mention poetry, departed from its proper privilege of impartiality, and even Flutarch made a sacrifice to imperial power.

² Cato the Censor, at a very late period of life, married Satonia, daughter of his own steward. There was a family, however, from the second match, which flourished when that which came from the first was extinct.

³ Servilia was not his only sister by the mother's side; there were three of them; one, the mother of Brutus who killed Cæsar; another married to Lucullus; and a third to Junius Silanus. Cæpio, too, was his brother by the mother's side.

sure to meet with a severe rebuke, and to those who attempted to intimidate him, he was still more untractable. Scarcely anything could make him laugh, and it was but rarely that his countenance was softened to a smile. He was not quickly or easily moved to anger; but it was difficult to appease his resentment, when once excited.

His apprehension was slow, and his learning came with difficulty; but what he had once learned he long retained. It is, indeed, a common case for persons of quick parts to have weak memories, but what is gained with labour and application is always retained the longest, for every hard gained acquisition of science is a kind of annealing upon the mind. The inflexibility of his disposition seems also to have retarded his progress in learning; for to learn is to submit to a new impression; and those submit the most easily who have the least power of resistance. Thus young men are more persuadable than the old, and the sick than such as are well; and, in general, assent is most easily gained from those who are least able to find doubts and difficulties. Yet Cato is said to have been very obedient to his preceptor, and to have done whatever he was commanded; only he would always inquire the reason, and ask why such a thing was enjoined. Indeed, his preceptor Sarpedon (for that was his name) was a man of engaging manners, who chose rather to govern by reason than by violence.

While Cato was yet a child, the Italian allies demanded to be admitted citizens of Rome. Popedius Silo, a man of great name as a soldier, and powerful among his people, had a friendship with Drusus, and lodged a long time in his house during this application. As he was familiar with the children, he said to them one day, "Come, my good children, desire your uncle to assist us in our solicitation for the freedom." Cæpio smiled, and readily gave his promise; but Cato made no answer. And as he was observed to look with a fixed and unkind eye upon the strangers, Popedius continued, "And you, my little man, what do you say? Will not you give your guests your interest with your uncle, as well as your brother?"—Cato still refusing to answer, and appearing by his silence and his looks inclined to deny the request, Popedius took him to the window and threatened, if he would not promise, to throw him out. This he did in a harsh tone, and at the same time gave him several shakes, as if he was going to let him fall. But as the child bore this a long time without any marks of concern or fear, Popedius set him down, and said softly to his friends, "This child is the glory of Italy. I verily believe, if he were a man, that we should not get one vote among the people."

Another time, when a relation invited young Cato, with other children, to celebrate his birth-day, most of the children went to play together in a corner of the house. Their play was to mimic a court of justice,¹ where some were accused in form, and afterwards carried to prison. One of them, a beautiful boy, being condemned,

¹ Children's plays are often taken from what is most familiar to them. In other

and shut up by a bigger boy, who acted as officer, in one of the apartments, called out to Cato; who, as soon as he understood what the matter was, ran to the door, and, pushing away those who stood there as guards and attempted to oppose him, carried off the child, and went home in great anger; most of the children marching off with him.

These things gained him great reputation, of which the following is an extraordinary instance: when Sylla chose to exhibit a tournament of boys, which goes by the name of *Troy*,¹ and is considered as a sacred exhibition, he selected two bands of young gentlemen, and assigned them two captains, one of which they readily accepted, on account of his being the son of Metella, the wife of Sylla; but the other, named Sextus, though he was nephew to Pompey the Great, they absolutely rejected, and would not go out to exercise under him. Sylla then asking them, "Whom they would have?" they unanimously cried "Cato;" and Sextus himself readily yielded the honour to him, as a boy of superior parts.

The friendship which had subsisted between Sylla and the father of Cato, induced him sometimes to send for the young man and his brother Cæpio, and to talk familiarly with them, a favour, which, by reason of his dignity, he conferred on very few. Sarpedon thinking such an intercourse a great advantage to his scholar, both in point of honour and safety, often took Cato to pay his respects to the dictator. Sylla's house at that time looked like nothing but a place of execution; such were the numbers of people tortured and put to death there. Cato, who was now in his fourteenth year, seeing the heads of many illustrious personages carried out, and observing that the by-standers sighed in secret at these scenes of blood, asked his preceptor, "Why somebody did not kill that man?" "Because," said he, "they fear him more than they hate him." "Why, then," said Cato, "do not you give me a sword, that I may kill him, and deliver my country from slavery?" When Sarpedon heard such a speech from the boy, and saw with what a stern and angry look he uttered it, he was greatly alarmed, and watched him narrowly afterwards, to prevent his attempting some rash action.

When he was but a child, he was asked one day, "Whom he loved most?" and he answered, "His brother." The person who put the question, then asked him, "Whom he loved next?" and again he said, "His brother:" "Whom in the third place?" and still it was "His brother:" and so on till he put no more questions to him about it. This affection increased with his years, insomuch

countries they are commonly formed upon trifling subjects; but the Roman children acted trials in the courts of justice, the command of armies, triumphal processions, and, in later times, the state of emperors. Suetonius tells us that Nero commanded his son-in-law Eusippus Crispinus, the son of Poppea, a child, to be thrown into the sea, because he was said

to delight in plays of the last-mentioned kind.

² The invention of this game is generally ascribed to Ascanius. It was celebrated in the public circus by companies of boys, who were furnished with arms suitable to their strength. They were taken, for the most part, out of the noblest families in Rome.

that when he was twenty years old, if he sipped, if he went out into the country, if he appeared in the *forum*, Cæpio must be with him. But he would not make use of perfumes as Cæpio did; indeed, the whole course of his life was strict and austere; so that when Cæpio was sometimes commended for his temperance and sobriety, he would say, "I may have some claim to these virtues, when compared with other men; but when I compare myself with Cato, I seem a mere Sippius." Sippius was the name of a person remarkably effeminate and luxurious.

After Cato had taken upon him the priesthood of Apollo, he changed his dwelling, and took his share of the paternal estate, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents. But though his fortune was so considerable, his manner of living was more frugal and simple than ever. He formed a particular connection with Antipater of Tyre, the Stoic philosopher: and the knowledge he was the most studious of acquiring was the moral and the political. He was carried to every virtue with an impulse like inspiration; but his greatest attachment was to justice, and justice of that severe and inflexible kind which is not to be wrought upon by favour or compassion.¹ He cultivated also that eloquence which is fit for popular assemblies; for as in a great city there should be an extraordinary supply for war, so in the political philosophy he thought there should be a provision for troublesome times. Yet he did not declaim before a company, nor go to hear the exercises of other young men. And when one of his friends said, "Cato, the world finds fault with your silence;" he answered, "No matter, so long as it does not find fault with my life. I shall begin to speak when I have things to say that deserve to be known."

In the public hall called the *Porcian*, which was built by old Cato in his censorship, the tribunes of the people used to hold their court. And, as there was a pillar which incommoded their benches, they resolved either to remove it to a distance, or to take it entirely away. This was the first thing that drew Cato to the *rostra*, and even then it was against his inclination. He opposed the design effectually, and gave an admirable specimen, both of his eloquence and spirit. For there was nothing of youthful sallies or finical affectation in his oratory; all was rough, sensible, and strong. Nevertheless, amidst the short and solid turn of the sentences there was a grace that engaged the ear; and with the gravity which might be expected from his manners, there was something of humour and raillery intermixed, which had an agreeable effect. His voice was loud enough to be heard by such a multitude of people, and his strength was such, that he often spoke a whole day without being tired.

After he had gained his cause, he returned to his former studies and silence. To strengthen his constitution, he used the most

¹ Cicero, in his oration for Murena, gives us a fine simile upon those maxims of the virtues which Cato made the rule of

his life, and which, as he observe, were only fit to flourish within the portico.

laborious exercise. *He accustomed himself to go bareheaded in the hottest and coldest weather, and travelled on foot at all seasons of the year.* His friends, who travelled with him, made use of horses, and he joined sometimes one, sometimes another, for conversation, as he went along. In time of sickness, his patience and abstinence were extraordinary. If he happened to have a fever, he spent the whole day alone, suffering no person to approach him till he found a sensible change for the better.

At entertainments they threw the dice for the choice of the incenses; and if Cato lost the first choice, his friends used to offer it him; but he always refused it; "*Venus*"¹ said he, "*forbids.*" At first he used to rise from table after having drank once; but in process of time he came to love drinking, and would sometimes spend the whole night over the bottle. His friends excused him by saying, "That the business of the state employed him all day, and left him no time for conversation, and therefore he spent his evenings in discourse with the philosophers." And, when one Memmius said in company, "That Cato spent whole nights in drinking," Cicero retorted, "But you cannot say that he spends whole days at play."

Cato saw that a great reformation was wanting in the manners and customs of his country, and for that reason he determined to go contrary to the corrupt fashions which then obtained. He observed (for instance) that the richest and most lively purple was the thing most worn, and therefore he went in black. Nay, he often appeared in public after dinner bare-footed and without his gown. Not that he affected to be talked of for that singularity; but he did it by way of learning to be ashamed of nothing but what was really shameful, and not to regard what depended only on the estimation of the world.

A great estate falling to him by the death of a cousin-german of the same name, he turned it into money, to the amount of 100 talents; and *when any of his friends wanted to borrow a sum, he lent it them without interest.* If he could not otherwise supply them, he suffered even his own land and slaves to be mortgaged for them to the treasury.

He knew no woman before his marriage; and when he thought himself of a proper age to enter into that state, he set a treaty on foot with Lepida, who had before been contracted to Metellus Scipio, but, upon Scipio's breaking the engagement, was then at liberty. However, before the marriage could take place, Scipio repented; and by the assiduity of his management and address, succeeded with the lady. Provoked at this ill treatment, Cato was desirous to go to law for redress; and, as his friends overruled him in that respect, youthful resentment put him upon writing some *iambics* against Scipio, which had all the keenness of Archilochus, without his obscenity and scurrility.

¹ The most favourable cast upon the dice was called *Venus*. Horace alludes to it, *Ode vii. lib. 2.*

After this, he married Atilia, the daughter of Soranus, who was the first, but not the only woman he ever knew. In this respect, Lælius, the friend of Scipio Africanus, was happier than he;¹ for in the course of a long life he had only one wife, and no intercourse with any other woman.

In the *servile* war (I mean that with Spartacus) Gellius was general; and Cato served in it as a volunteer, for the sake of his brother Cæpio, who was tribune; but he could not distinguish his vivacity and courage as he wished, because the war was ill conducted. However, amidst the effeminacy and luxury which then prevailed in the army, he paid so much regard to discipline, and, when occasion served, behaved with so much spirit and valour as well as coolness and capacity, that he appeared not in the least inferior to Cato the Censor. Gellius made him an offer of the best military rewards and honours; but he would not accept or allow of them; "For," said he, "I have done nothing that deserves such notice."

These things made him pass for a man of a strange and singular turn. Besides, when a law was made, that no man who solicited any office should take *nomenclators* with him, he was the only one that obeyed it; for when he applied for a tribune's commission in the army, he had previously made himself master of the names of all the citizens. Yet for this he was envied, even by those who praised him. The more they considered the excellence of his conduct, the more pain it gave them to think how hard it was to imitate.

With a tribune's commission he was sent into Macedonia, where Rubrius the prætor commanded. His wife, upon his departure, was in great distress, and we are told that Munatius, a friend of Cato's, in order to comfort her, said, "Take courage, Atilia; I will take care of your husband." "By all means," answered Cato. At the end of the first day's march, after they had supped, he said, "Come, Munatius, that you may the better perform your promise to Atilia, you shall not leave me either day or night." In consequence of which, he ordered two beds in his own tent, and made a pleasant improvement upon the matter; for, as Munatius always slept by him, it was not he that took care of Cato, but Cato that took care of him.

Cato had with him fifteen slaves, two freedmen, and four of his friends. These rode on horseback, and he always went on foot; yet he kept up with them and conversed with them by turns. When he joined the army, which consisted of several legions, Rubrius gave him the command of one. In this post he thought it nothing great or extraordinary to be distinguished by his own virtue only; it was his ambition to make all the troops that were under his care like himself. With this view he lessened nothing of that authority which might inspire fear, but he called in the support of

¹ Plutarch seems to us to have spoken so feelingly of the happiness of the con-

jugal connection long continued with one affectionate wife in his own experience

reason to its assistance. *By instruction and persuasion, as well as by rewards and punishments, he formed them so well, that it was hard to say whether his troops were more peaceable or more warlike, more valiant or more just.* They were dreadful to their enemies, and courteous to their allies; afraid to do dishonourable things, and ambitious of honest praise.

Hence, though honour and fame were not Cato's objects, they flowed in upon him; *he was held in universal esteem, and had entirely the hearts of his soldiers.* For whatever he commanded others to do, he was the first to do it himself. In his dress, his manner of living, and marching, he resembled the private soldier more than the officer: and at the same time, in virtue, in dignity of mind, and strength of eloquence, he far exceeded all who had the name of generals. By these means he insensibly gained the affections of his troops. And, indeed, virtue does not attract imitation, except the person who gives the pattern is beloved as well as esteemed. Those who praise good men without loving them, only pay a respect to their name, but do not sincerely admire their virtue, nor have any inclination to follow their example.

At that time there lived at Pergamos a Stoic philosopher, named Athenodorus, and surnamed Cordylio, in great reputation for his knowledge. He was now grown old, and had long resisted the applications of princes and other great men, who wanted to draw him to their courts, and offered him their friendship and very considerable appointments. Cato thence concluded that it would be in vain to write or send any messenger to him; and, as the laws gave him leave of absence for two months, he sailed to Asia, and applied to him in person, in confidence that his accomplishments would carry his point with him. Accordingly, by his arguments and the charms of his conversation, he drew him from his purpose, and brought him with him to the camp; as happy and as proud of this success as if he had made a more valuable capture, or performed a more glorious exploit, than those of Pompey and Lucullus, who were then subduing the provinces and kingdoms of the east.

While he was with the army in Macedonia he had notice by letter that his brother Cæpio was fallen sick at Ænus in Thrace. The sea was extremely rough, and no large vessel to be had. He ventured, however, to sail from Thessalonica in a small passage-boat, with two friends and three servants, and having very narrowly escaped drowning, arrived at Ænus just after Cæpio expired. On this occasion Cato showed the sensibility of a brother, rather than the fortitude of a philosopher. He wept, he groaned, he embraced the dead body; and besides these and other tokens of the greatest sorrow, he spent vast sums upon his funeral. The spices and rich robes that were burned with him were very expensive, and he erected a monument for him of Thasian marble in the *forum* at Ænus, which cost no less than eight talents.

Some condemn these things as little agreeable to the modesty and simplicity which Cato professed in general: but they did not perceive, that with all his firmness and inflexibility to the solicitations

of pleasure, of terror, and importunity, he had great tenderness and sensibility in his nature. Many cities and princes sent presents of great value, to do honour to the obsequies, but he would not accept anything in money. All that he would receive was spices and stuffs, and those too only on condition of paying for them.

He was left co-heir with Cæpio's daughter, to his estate; but when they came to divide it, he would not charge any part of the funeral expenses to her account. Yet, though he acted so honourably in that affair, and continued in the same upright path, there was one¹ who scrupled not to write, that he passed his brother's ashes through a sieve, in search of the gold that might be melted down. Surely that writer thought himself above being called to account for his pen, as well as for his sword!

Upon the expiration of his commission, Cato was honoured at his departure, not only with the common good wishes for his health and praises of his conduct, but with tears and the most affectionate embraces; the soldiers spread their garments in his way, and kissed his hand: instances of esteem which few generals met with from the Romans in those times.

But before he returned to Rome, to apply for a share in the administration, he resolved to visit Asia, and see with his own eyes the manners, customs, and strength of every province. At the same time he was willing to oblige Deiotarus king of Galatia, who, on account of the engagement of hospitality that he had entered into with his father, had given him a very pressing invitation.

Early in the morning he sent his baker and his cook to the place where he intended to lodge the next night. These entered the town in a very modest and civil manner, and if they found there no friend or acquaintance of Cato or his family, they took up lodgings for him, and prepared his supper, at an inn, without giving any one the least trouble. If there happened to be no inn, they applied to the magistrates for quarters, and were always satisfied with those assigned them. Very often they were not believed to be Cato's servants, but entirely disregarded, because they came not to the magistrates in a clamorous and threatening manner: insomuch that their master arrived before they could procure lodgings. It was worse still when Cato himself made his appearance, for the townsmen seeing him sit down on the luggage without speaking a word, took him for a man of a mean and dastardly spirit. Sometimes, however, he would send for the magistrates, and say, "Wretches, why do you not learn a proper hospitality? You will not find all that apply to you Catos. Do not then by your ill treatment give those occasion to exert their authority, who only want a pretence to take from you by violence what you give with so much reluctance."

In Syria, we are told, he met with a humorous adventure. When he came to Antioch, he saw a number of people ranged in good

¹ Julius Cæsar in his *Anticato*

order without the gates. On one side the way stood the young men in their mantles, and on the other the boys in their best attire. Some wore white robes, and had crowns on their heads; these were the priests and the magistrates. Cato imagining that this magnificent reception was intended to do him honour, began to be angry with his servants, who were sent before, for not preventing such a compliment. Nevertheless, he desired his friends to alight, and walked with them towards these Antiochians. When they were near enough to be spoken to, the master of the ceremonies, an elderly man, with a staff and a crown in his hand, addressed himself first to Cato, and without so much as saluting him, asked "How far Demetrius was behind; and when he might be expected." Demetrius was Pompey's freedman; and, as the eyes of all the world were then fixed upon Pompey, they paid more respect to this favourite of his than he had any right to claim. Cato's friends were seized with such a fit of laughter that they could not recover themselves as they passed through the crowd. Cato himself, in some confusion, cried out, "Alas! poor city," and said not a word more. Afterwards, however, he used always to laugh when he told the story.

But Pompey took care to prevent the people of Asia from making any more mistakes of this kind for want of knowing Cato. For Cato, when he came to Ephesus, going to pay his respects to Pompey, as his superior in point of age and dignity, and as the commander of such great armies; Pompey, seeing him at some distance, did not wait to receive him sitting, but rose up to meet him, and gave him his hand with great cordiality. He said much, too, in commendation of his virtue while he was present, and spoke more freely in his praise when he was gone. Every one, after this, paid great attention to Cato, and he was admired for what before had exposed him to contempt: for they could now see that his sedate and subdued conduct was the effect of his greatness of mind. Besides, it was visible that Pompey's behaviour to him was the consequence of respect rather than love: and that, though he expressed his admiration of him when present, he was glad when he was gone. For the other young Romans that came to see him, he pressed much to stay and spend some time with him. To Cato he gave no such invitation; but, as if he thought himself under some restraint in his proceedings while he stayed, readily dismissed him. However amongst all the Romans who returned to Rome, to Cato only he recommended his wife and children, who indeed were his relations.

His fame now going before him, the cities in his way strove which should do him most honour, by invitations, entertainments, and every other mark of regard. On these occasions, Cato used to desire his friends to look well to him, lest he should make good the saying of Curio. Curio, who was one of his particular friends and companions, but disapproved his austerity, asked him one day, "Whether he was inclined to visit Asia when his time of service was expired?" Cato answered, "Yes, by all means." Upon which

Curio said, "It is well ; you will return a little more practicable : " using an expressive Latin word to that purpose.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia, being far advanced in years, sent for Cato, with a design to recommend his children, and all his family, to his protection. As soon as he came, he offered him a variety of valuable presents, and urged him strongly to accept them ; which importunity so much displeased him, that though he came in the evening, he stayed only that night, and went away at the third hour the next morning. After he had gone a day's journey, he found at Pessinus a greater number of presents, with letters entreating him to receive them ; "or if you will not accept them," said Deiotarus, "at least permit your friends to take them, who deserve some reward for their services, and yet cannot expect it out of your own estate." Cato, however, would give them no such permission though he observed that some of his friends cast a longing eye that way, and were visibly chagrined. "Corruption," said he, "will never want a pretence. But you shall be sure to share with me whatever I can get with justice and honour." He therefore sent Deiotarus his presents back.

When he was taking ship for Brundisium, his friends advised him to put Cæpio's remains on board another vessel ;¹ but he declared, "He would sooner part with his life than with them ;" and so he set sail. It is said, the ship he was in happened to be in great danger, though all the rest had a tolerable passage.

After his return to Rome, he spent his time either in conversation with Athenodorus at home, or in the *forum* in the service of his friends. Though he was of a proper age (24 years) to offer himself for the quaestorship, he would not solicit it till he had qualified himself for that office, by studying all the laws relating to it, by making inquiries of such as were experienced in it ; and thus gaining a thorough knowledge of its whole intention and process. Immediately upon his entering on it, he made a great reformation among the secretaries and other officers of the treasury. The public papers, and the rules of court, were what they were well versed in ; and as young quaestors were continually coming into the direction, who were ignorant of the laws and records, the under officers took upon them not only to instruct, but to dictate to them ; and were in fact quaestors themselves. Cato corrected this abuse. He applied himself with great vigour to the business, and had not only the name and honour, but thoroughly understood all that belonged to that department. Consequently he made use of the secretaries only as servants, which they really were ; sometimes correcting wilful abuses, and sometimes the mistakes which they made through ignorance. As the license in which they had lived had made them refractory, and they hoped to secure themselves by flattering the other quaestors, they boldly withstood Cato.

¹ From a superstition which commonly obtained they imagined that a dead body on board a ship would raise a storm. Plutarch, by using the word happened

just below, shows that he did not give in to that superstitious notion, though too apt to do those things.

He therefore dismissed the principal of them, whom he had detected in a fraud in the division of an estate. Against another he lodged an indictment for forgery. His defence was undertaken by Lutatius Catulus, then censor; a man whose authority was not only supported by his high office, but still more by his reputation; for, in justice and regularity of life, he had distinguished himself above all the Romans of his time. He was also a friend and favourer of Cato, on account of his upright conduct; yet he opposed him in this cause. Perceiving he had not right on his side, he had recourse to entreaties; but Cato would not suffer him to proceed in that manner; and, as he did not desist, took occasion to say, "It would be a great disgrace for you, Catulus, who are censor and inspector of our lives and manners, to be turned out of court by my lictors." Catulus gave him a look, as if he intended to make answer; however, he did not speak: either through anger or shame, he went off silent, and greatly disconcerted. Nevertheless, the man was not condemned. As the number of voices against him exceeded those for him by one only, Catulus desired the assistance of Marcus Lollius, Cato's colleague, who was prevented by sickness, from attending the trial; but, upon his application, was brought in a litter into court, and gave the determining voice in favour of the defendant. Yet Cato would not restore him to his employment, or pay him his stipend; for he considered the partial suffrage of Lollius as a thing of no account.

The secretaries thus humbled and subdued, he took the direction of the public papers and finances into his own hands. By these means, in a little time he rendered the treasury more respectable than the senate itself; and it was commonly thought as well as said, that Cato had given the *quæstorship* all the dignity of the consulate. For, having made it his business to find out all the debts of long standing due to the public, and what the public was indebted to private persons, he settled these affairs in such a manner that the commonwealth could no longer either do or suffer any injury in that respect; strictly demanding and insisting on the payment of whatever was owing to the state; and at the same time, readily and freely satisfying all who had claims upon it. This naturally gained him reverence among the people, when they saw many obliged to pay who hoped never to have been called to account; and many receiving debts which they had given up as desperate. His predecessors had often, through interest or persuasion, accepted false bills, and pretended orders of senate; but nothing of that kind escaped Cato. There was one order in particular, which he suspected to be forged, and though it had many witnesses to support it, he would not allow it till the consuls came and declared it upon oath.

There were a number of assassins employed in the last proscription, to whom Sylla had given 12,000 *drachmas* for each head they brought him. These were looked upon by all the world as the most execrable villains; yet no man had ventured to take vengeance on them. Cato, however, summoned all who had received

the public money for such unjust services, and made them refund ; inveighing, at the same time, with equal reason and severity against their impious and abominable deeds. These wretches, thus disgraced, and, as it were, prejudged, were afterwards indicted for murder before the judges, who punished them as they deserved. All ranks of people rejoiced at these executions ; they thought they saw the tyranny rooted out with these men, and Sylla himself capitally punished in the death of his ministers.

The people were also delighted with his indefatigable diligence ; for he always came to the treasury before his colleagues, and was the last that left it. *There was no assembly of the people, or meeting of the senate, which he did not attend,* in order to keep a watchful eye upon all partial remissions of fines and duties, and all unreasonable grants. Thus, having cleared the exchequer of informers and all such vermin, and filled it with treasure, he showed that it is possible for Government to be rich without oppressing the subject. At first this conduct of his was very obnoxious to his colleagues, but in time it came to be agreeable, because, by refusing to give away any of the public money, or to make any partial determination, he stood the rage of disappointed avarice for them all ; and, to the importunity of solicitation they would answer, that they could do nothing without the consent of Cato.

The last day of his office he was conducted home by almost the whole body of citizens. But, by the way, he was informed that some of the principal men in Rome, who had great influence upon Marcellus, were besieging him in the treasury, and pressing him to make out an order for sums which they pretended to be due to them. Marcellus, from his childhood, was a friend of Cato's, and a good quæstor while he acted with him ; but, when he acted alone, he was too much influenced by personal regards for petitioners, and by a natural inclination to oblige. Cato, therefore, immediately turned back, and finding Marcellus already prevailed upon to make out the order, he called for the registers, and erased it ; Marcellus all the while standing by in silence. Not content with this, he took him out of the treasury, and led him to his own house. Marcellus, however, did not complain, either then or afterwards, but continued the same friendship and intimacy with him to the last.

After the time of his quæstorship was expired, Cato kept a watchful eye upon the treasury. He had his servants there daily minuting down the proceedings ; and he spent much time himself in perusing the public accounts from the time of Sylla to his own ; a copy of which he had purchased for five talents.

Whenever the senate was summoned to meet, he was the first to give his attendance, and the last to withdraw ; and oftentimes, while the rest were slowly assembling, he would sit down and read, holding his gown before his book ; nor would he ever be out of town when a house was called. Pompey finding that, in all his unwarrantable attempts, he must find a severe and inexorable opponent in Cato, when he had a point of that kind to carry, threw

in his way either the cause of some friend to plead, or arbitration, or other business to attend to. But Cato soon perceived the snare, and rejected all the applications of his friends; declaring, that, when the senate was to sit, he would never undertake any other business. For his attention to the concerns of government was not like that of some others, guided by the views of honour or profit nor left to chance or humour; but he thought *a good citizen ought to be as solicitous about the public, as a bee is about her hive*. For this reason he desired his friends, and others with whom he had connections in the provinces, to give him an account of the edicts, the important decisions, and all the principal business transacted there.

He made a point of it to oppose Clodius the seditious demagogue, who was always proposing some dangerous law, or some change in the constitution, or accusing the priests and vestals to the people. Fabia Terentia, sister to Cicero's wife, and one of the vestals, was impeached among the rest, and in danger of being condemned. But Cato defended the cause of these injured people so well, that Clodius was forced to withdraw in great confusion, and leave the city. When Cicero came to thank him for this service, he said, "*You must thank your country, whose utility is the spring that guides all my actions.*"

His reputation came to be so great that a certain orator, in a cause where only one witness was produced, said to the judges, "One man's evidence is not sufficient to go by, not even if it was Cato's." It grew, indeed, into a kind of proverb, when people were speaking of strange and incredible things, to say, "I would not believe such a thing, though it were affirmed by Cato."

A man profuse in his expenses, and in all respects of a worthless character, taking upon him one day to speak in the senate in praise of temperance and sobriety, Amnæus arose up and said, "*Who can endure to hear a man who eats and drinks like Crassus, and builds like Lucullus, pretend to talk here like Cato?*" Hence others, who were dissolute and abandoned in their lives, but preserved a gravity and austerity in their discourse, came by way of ridicule to be called *Catos*.

His friends advised him to offer himself for the tribuneship; but he thought it was not yet time. He said, "He looked upon an office of such power and authority as a violent medicine, which ought not to be used except in cases of great necessity." As, at that time, he had no public business to engage him, he took his books and philosophers with him, and set out for Lucania, where he had lands, and an agreeable country retreat. By the way he met with a number of horses, carriages, and servants, which he found belonged to Metellus Nepos, who was going to Rome to apply for the tribuneship. This put him to a stand; he remained some time in deep thought, and then gave his people orders to turn back. To his friends, who were surprised at this conduct, "Know ye not," said he, "that Metellus is formidable even in his stupidity? But remember, that he now follows the counsels of

Pompey; that the state lies prostrate before him; and that he will fall upon and crush it with the force of a thunderbolt. *Is this then a time for the pursuit of rural amusements? Let us rescue our liberties, or die in their defence!*" Upon the remonstrance of his friends, however, he proceeded to his farm; and after a short stay there, returned to the city. He arrived in the evening, and early next morning went to the *forum*, as a candidate for the tribuneship, in opposition to Metellus; for to oppose, is the nature of that office; and its power is chiefly negative: insomuch, that the dissent of a single voice is sufficient to disannul a measure in which the whole assembly besides has concurred.

Cato was at first attended only by a small number of his friends; but, when his intentions were made known, he was immediately surrounded by men of honour and virtue, the rest of his acquaintance, who gave him the strongest encouragement, and solicited him to apply for the tribuneship, not as it might imply a favour conferred on himself, but as it would be an honour and an advantage to his fellow citizens; observing, at the same time, that though it had been frequently in his power to obtain this office without the trouble of opposition; yet he now stepped forth, regardless, not only of that trouble, but even of personal danger, when the liberties of his country were at stake. Such was the zeal and eagerness of the people who pressed around him that it was with the utmost difficulty he made his way to the *forum*.

Being appointed tribune, with Metellus amongst the rest, he observed that great corruption had crept into the consular elections. On this subject he gave a severe charge to the people, which he concluded, by affirming on oath, that he would persecute every one that should offend in that way. He took care, however, that Silanus,¹ who had married his sister Servilia, should be excepted. But against Muræna, who, by means of bribery, had carried the consulship at the same time with Silanus, he laid an information. By the laws of Rome, the person accused has power to set a guard upon him who lays the information, that he may have no opportunity of supporting a false accusation by private machinations before his trial. When the person that was appointed Muræna's officer, on this occasion observed the liberal and candid conduct of Cato; that he sought only to support his information by fair and open evidence; he was so struck with the excellence and dignity of his character, that he would frequently wait upon him in the *forum*, or at his house, and, after inquiring whether he should proceed that day in the business of the information, if Cato answered in the negative, he made no scruple of leaving him.

¹ From this passage it should seem that Plutarch supposed Cato to be capable of sacrificing to family connections. But the fault lies rather in the historian than in the tribune. For, is it to be supposed that the rigid virtue of Cato should descend to the most obnoxious circum-

stances of predilection? It is not possible to have a stronger instance of his integrity than his refusing the alliance of Pompey the Great; though that refusal was impolitic, and attended with bad consequences to the state.

When the trial came on, Cicero, who was then consul, and Muræna's advocate, by way of playing upon Cato, threw out many pleasant things against the Stoics, and their paradoxical philosophy. This occasioned no small mirth amongst the judges ; upon which Cato only observed with a smile, to those who stood next him, that Rome had indeed a most laughable consul. Muræna acted a very prudent part with regard to Cato ; for, though acquitted of the charge he had brought against him, he nevertheless consulted him on all occasions of importance during his consulship, respected him for his sense and virtue, and made use of his counsels in the administration of government. *For Cato, on the bench, was the most rigid dispenser of justice : though in private society, he was affable and humane.*

Before he was appointed tribune in the consulship of Cicero, he supported the supreme magistrate in a very seasonable manner, by many excellent measures during the turbulent times of Catiline. It is well known that this man meditated nothing less than a total subversion of the Roman state ; and that, by the spirited counsels and conduct of Cicero, he was obliged to fly from Rome without effecting his purpose. But Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest of the conspirators, after reproaching Catiline for his timidity, and the feebleness of his enterprises, resolved to distinguish themselves at least more effectually. Their scheme was nothing less than to burn the city, and destroy the empire, by the revolt of the colonies and foreign wars. Upon the discovery of this conspiracy, Cicero called a council ; and the first that spoke was Silanus. He gave it as his opinion, that the conspirators should be punished with the utmost rigour. This opinion was adopted by the rest till it came to Cæsar. This eloquent man, consistent with whose ambitious principles it was rather to encourage than to suppress any threatening innovations, urged, in his usual persuasive manner, the propriety of allowing the accused the privilege of trial ; and that the conspirators should only be taken into custody. The senate, who were under apprehensions from the people, thought it prudent to come into this measure ; and even Silanus retracted, and declared he thought of nothing more than *imprisonment, that being the most rigorous punishment a citizen of Rome could suffer.*

This change of sentiment in those who spoke first was followed by the rest, who all gave into milder measures. But Cato, who was of a contrary opinion, defended that opinion with the greatest vehemence, eloquence, and energy. He reproached Silanus for his pusillanimity in changing his resolution. He attacked Cæsar, and charged him with a secret design of subverting the government, under the plausible appearance of mitigating speeches and a humane conduct ; of intimidating the senate by the same means, even in a case where he had to fear for himself, and wherein he might think himself happy if he could be exempted from every imputation and suspicion of guilt : he, who had openly and daringly attempted to rescue from justice the enemies of the state ; and shown, that so far from having any compassion for his country,

when on the brink of destruction, he could even pity and plead for the wretches, the unnatural wretches, who meditated its ruin, and grieve that their punishment should prevent their design. This, it is said, is the only oration of Cato that is extant. *Cicero had selected a number of the swiftest writers, whom he had taught the art of abbreviating words by characters, and had placed them in different parts of the senate-house. Before his consulate, they had no short-hand writers.* Cato carried his point; and it was decreed, agreeably to his opinion, that the conspirators should suffer capital punishment.

As it is our intention to exhibit an accurate picture of the mind and manners of Cato, the least circumstance that may contribute to mark them should not escape our notice. While he was warmly contesting his point with Cæsar, and the eyes of the whole senate were upon the disputants, it is said that a billet was brought in and delivered to Cæsar. Cato immediately suspected, and charged him with some traitorous design; and it was moved in the senate, that the billet should be read publicly. Cæsar delivered it to Cato, who stood near him; and the latter had no sooner cast his eye upon it than he perceived it to be the hand of his own sister Servilia, who was passionately in love with Cæsar, by whom she had been debauched. He therefore threw it back to Cæsar, saying, "Take it, you sot," and went on with his discourse. Cato was always unfortunate amongst the women. This Servilia was infamous for her commerce with Cæsar; and his other sister was in still worse repute; for though married to Lucullus, one of the first men in Rome, by whom she also had a son, she was divorced for her insufferable irregularities. But what was most distressing to Cato was, that the conduct of his own wife Atilia, was by no means unexceptionable; and that, after having brought him two children, he was obliged to part with her.

Upon his divorce from Atilia, he married Martia, the daughter of Philip, a woman of good character; but this part of Cato's life, like the plots in the drama, is involved and intricate. Thræseas, upon the authority of Munatius, Cato's particular friend, who lived under the same roof with him, gives us this account of the matter. Amongst the friends and followers of Cato, some made a more open profession of their sentiments than others. Amongst these was Quintus Hortensius, a man of great dignity and politeness. Not contented merely with the friendship of Cato, he was desirous of a family alliance with him; and for this purpose, he scrupled not to request that his daughter Portia, who was already married to Bibulus, by whom she had two children, might be lent to him, as a fruitful soil for the purpose of propagation. The thing itself, he owned, was uncommon, but by no means unnatural or improper. For why should a woman in the flower of her age, either continue useless, till she is past child-bearing, or overburden her husband with too large a family? The mutual use of women, he added, in virtuous families, would not only increase a virtuous offspring, but strengthen and extend the connections of society. Moreover, if

Bibulus should be unwilling wholly to give up his wife, she should be restored after she had done him the honour of an alliance to Cato by her pregnancy. Cato answered, that he had the greatest regard for the friendship of Hortensius, but he could not think of his application for another man's wife. Hortensius, however, would not give up the point here : but when he could not obtain Cato's daughter, he applied for his wife, saying, that she was yet a young woman, and Cato's family already large enough. He could not possibly make this request upon a supposition that Cato had no regard for his wife ; for she was at that very time pregnant. Notwithstanding, the latter, when he observed the violent inclination Hortensius had to be allied to him, did not absolutely refuse him ; but said it was necessary to consult Martia's father, Philip, on the occasion. Philip, therefore, was applied to, and his daughter was espoused to Hortensius in the presence and with the consent of Cato.

When the conspirators were executed, and Cæsar, who, on account of his calumnies in the senate, was obliged to throw himself on the people, had infused a spirit of insurrection into the worst and lowest of the citizens, Cato, being apprehensive of the consequences, engaged the senate to appease the multitude by a free gift of corn. This cost 1,250 talents a year ; but it had the desired effect.¹

Metellus, upon entering on his office as tribune, held several seditious meetings, and published an edict, that Pompey should bring his troops into Italy, under the pretext of saving the city from the attempts of Catiline. Such was the pretence ; but his real design was to give up the state into the hands of Pompey.

Upon the meeting of the senate, Cato, instead of treating Metellus with his usual asperity, expostulated with great mildness, and had even recourse to entreaty, intimating, at the same time, that his family had ever stood in the interest of the nobility. Metellus, who imputed Cato's mildness to his fears, was the more insolent on that account, and most audaciously asserted that he would carry his purpose into execution, whether the senate would or not. The voice, the air, the attitude of Cato, were changed in a moment ; and, with all the force of eloquence, he declared, " That while he was living, Pompey should never enter armed into the city." The senate neither approved of the conduct of Cato, nor of Metellus. The latter they considered as a desperate and profligate madman, who had no other aim than that of general destruction and confusion. The virtue of Cato they looked upon as a kind of enthusiasm, which would ever lead him to *arms* in the cause of injustice and the laws.

When the people came to vote for this edict, a number of aliens,

¹ This is almost one-third more than the sum said to have been expended in the same distribution in the life of Cæsar ; and even there it is incredibly large. But whatever might be the expense, the policy

was bad ; for nothing so effectually weakens the hands of government as the method of bribing the people, and treating them as injudicious slaves to froward children

gladiators, and slaves armed by Metellus, appeared in the *forum*. He was also followed by several of the commons, who wanted to introduce Pompey, in hopes of a revolution; and his hands were strengthened by the prætorial power of Cæsar. Cato, on the other hand, had the principal citizens on his side; but they were rather sharers in the injury, than auxiliaries in the removal of it. The danger to which he was exposed was now so great that his family was under the utmost concern. The greatest part of his friends and relations came to his house in the evening, and passed the night without either eating or sleeping. His wife and sisters bewailed their misfortunes with tears, while he himself passed the evening with the utmost confidence and tranquillity, encouraging the rest to imitate his example. He supped and went to rest as usual; and slept soundly till he was awaked by his colleague Minutius Thermus. He went to the *forum*, accompanied by few, but met by many, who advised him to take care of his person. When he saw the temple of Castor surrounded by armed men, the steps occupied by gladiators, and Metellus himself seated on an eminence with Cæsar, turning to his friends, "Which," said he, "is most contemptible, the savage disposition, or the cowardice, of him who brings such an army against a man who is naked and unarmed?" Upon this, he proceeded to the place with Thermus. Those who occupied the steps fell back to make way for him; but would suffer no one else to pass. Munatius only with some difficulty he drew along with him; and, as soon as he entered, he took his seat between Cæsar and Metellus, that he might, by that means, prevent their discourse. This embarrassed them not a little; and what added to their perplexity, was the countenance and approbation that Cato met with from all the honest men that were present, who, while they admired his firm and steady spirit, so strongly marked in his aspect, encouraged him to persevere in the cause of liberty, and mutually agreed to support him.

Metellus, enraged at this, proposed to read the edict. Cato put in his negative; and that having no effect, he wrested it out of his hand. Metellus then attempted to speak it from memory; but Thermus prevented him by putting his hand upon his mouth. When he found this ineffectual, and perceived that the people were gone over to the opposite party, he ordered his armed men to make a riot, and throw the whole into confusion. Upon this the people dispersed, and Cato was left alone, exposed to a storm of sticks and stones. But Murræna, though the former had so lately an information against him, would not desert him. He defended him with his gown from the danger to which he was exposed; entreated the mob to desist from their violence, and at length carried him off in his arms into the temple of Castor. When Metellus found the benches deserted, and the adversary put to the rout, he imagined he had gained his point, and again very modestly proceeded to confirm the edict. The adversary, however, quickly rallied, and advanced with shouts of the greatest courage and confidence. Metellus's party, supposing that, by some means, they had got

arms, was thrown into confusion, and immediately took to flight. Upon the dispersion of these, Cato came forward, and, by his encouragement and applause, established a considerable party against Metellus. The senate too voted that Cato should, at all events, be supported; and that an edict, so pregnant with everything that was pernicious to order and good government, and had even a tendency to civil war, should be opposed with the utmost rigour.

Metellus still maintained his resolution; but finding his friends intimidated by the unconquered spirit of Cato, he came suddenly into the open court, assembled the people, said everything that he thought might render Cato odious to them; and declared, that he would have nothing to do with the arbitrary principles of that man, or his conspiracy against Pompey, whose disgrace Rome might one day have severe occasion to repent.

Upon this he immediately set off for Asia to carry an account of these matters to Pompey. And Cato, by ridding the commonwealth of this troublesome tribune, and crushing, as it were, in him, the growing power of Pompey, obtained the highest reputation. But what made him still more popular was his prevailing on the senate to desist from their purpose of voting Metellus infamous, and divesting him of the magistracy. His humanity and moderation in not insulting a vanquished enemy, were admired by the people in general; whilst men of political sagacity could see that he thought it prudent not to provoke Pompey too much.

Soon afterwards, Lucullus returned from the war, which being concluded by Pompey, gave that general, in some measure, the laurels; and being rendered obnoxious to the people, through the impeachment of Caius Memmius, who opposed him more from a view of making his court to Pompey than any personal hatred, he was in danger of losing his triumphs. Cato, however, partly because Lucullus was allied to him by marrying his daughter Servilia, and partly because he thought the proceedings unfair, opposed Memmius, and by that means exposed himself to great obloquy. But though divested of his tribunitial office, as of a tyrannical authority, he had full credit enough to banish Memmius from the courts and from the lists. Lucullus, therefore, having obtained his triumph, attached himself to Cato, as to the strongest bulwark against the power of Pompey. When that great man returned from the war, confident of his interest at Rome, from the magnificent reception he everywhere met with, he scrupled not to send a requisition to the senate, that they would defer the election of consuls till his arrival, that he might support Piso. Whilst they were in doubt about the matter, Cato, not because he was under any concern about deferring the election, but that he might intercept the hopes and attempts of Pompey, remonstrated against the measure, and carried it in the negative. Pompey was not a little disturbed at this; and concluding, that, if Cato were his enemy, he would be the greatest obstacle to his designs, he sent for his friend Munatius, and commissioned him to demand two of Cato's nieces in marriage; the elder for himself, and the younger for his son.

Some say that they were not Cato's nieces, but his daughters. Be that as it may, when Munatius opened his commission to Cato, in the presence of his wife and sisters, the women were not a little delighted with the splendour of the alliance. But Cato, without a moment's hesitation, answered, "Go, Munatius; go, and tell Pompey, that Cato is not to be caught in a female snare. Tell him, at the same time, that I am sensible of the honour he does me; and whilst he continues to act as he ought to do, I shall have that friendship for him which is superior to affinity; but I will never give hostages, against my country, to the glory of Pompey." The women, as it is natural to suppose, were chagrined: and even the friends of Cato blamed the severity of his answer. But Pompey soon after gave him an opportunity of vindicating his conduct, by open bribery in a consular election. "You see now," said Cato to the women, "what would have been the consequence of my alliance with Pompey. I should have had my share in all the aspersions that are thrown upon him," and they owned that he had acted right. However, if one ought to judge from the event, it is clear that Cato did wrong in rejecting the alliance of Pompey. By suffering it to devolve to Cæsar, the united power of those two great men went near to overturn the Roman Empire. *The commonwealth is effectually destroyed.* But this would never have been the case, had not Cato, to whom the slighter faults of Pompey were obnoxious, suffered him, by thus strengthening his hands, to commit greater crimes. These consequences, however, were only impending at the period under our review. When Lucullus had a dispute with Pompey, concerning their institutions in Pontus (for each wanted to confirm his own), as the former was evidently injured, he had the support of Cato; while Pompey, his junior in the senate, in order to increase his popularity, proposed the Agrarian law in favour of the army. Cato opposed it, and it was rejected; in consequence of which Pompey attached himself to Clodius, the most violent and factious of the tribunes: and much about the same time contracted his alliance with Cæsar, to which Cato in some measure led the way. Cæsar, on his return from Spain, was at once a candidate for the consulship, and demanded a triumph. But as the laws of Rome required that those who sue for the supreme magistracy should sue in person; and those who triumph should be without the walls; he petitioned the senate that he might be allowed to sue for the consulship by proxy. The senate in general agreed to oblige Cæsar; and when Cato, the only one who opposed it, found this to be the case, as soon as it came to his turn, he spoke the whole day long, and thus prevented the doing of any business. Cæsar, therefore, gave up the affair of the triumph, entered the city, and applied at once for the consulship and the interest of Pompey. As soon as he was appointed consul, he married Julia; and as they had both entered into a league against the commonwealth, one proposed the law for the distribution of lands amongst the poor, and the other seconded the proposal. Lucullus and Cicero, in conjunction with Bibulus, the

other consul, opposed it. But Cato in particular, who suspected the pernicious consequences of Cæsar's connection with Pompey, was strenuous against the motion; and said it was not the distribution of lands that he feared so much as the rewards which the cajolers of the people might expect from their favours.

In this not only the senate agreed with him, but many of the people too, who were reasonably offended by the unconstitutional conduct of Cæsar. For whatever the maddest and the most violent of the tribunes proposed for the pleasure of the mob, Cæsar, to pay an abject court to them, ratified by the consular authority. When he found his motion, therefore, likely to be overruled, his party had recourse to violence, pelted Bibulus the consul with dirt, and broke the rods of his *lictors*. At length, when darts began to be thrown, and many were wounded, the rest of the senate fled as fast as possible out of the *forum*. Cato was the last who left it; and, as he walked slowly along, he frequently looked back, and execrated the wickedness and madness of the people. The Agrarian law, therefore, was not only passed, but they obliged the whole senate to take an oath that they would confirm and support it; and those that should refuse were sentenced to pay a heavy fine. Necessity brought most of them into the measure: for they remembered the example of Metellus Numidicus, who was banished for refusing to comply, in a similar instance, with the people. Cato was solicited by the tears of the female part of his family, and the entreaties of his friends, to yield and take the oath; but what principally induced him was the remonstrances and expostulations of Cicero; who represented to him, that there might not be so much virtue as he imagined in one man's dissenting from a decree that was established by the rest of the senate: that to expose himself to certain danger, without even the possibility of producing any good effect, was perfect insanity; and, what was still worse, to leave the commonwealth, for which he had undergone so many toils, to the mercy of innovators and usurpers, would look as if he were weary, at last, of his patriotic labours. Cato, he added, might do without Rome; but Rome could not do without Cato: his friends could not do without him: himself could not dispense with his assistance and support, while the audacious Clodius, by means of his tribunitial authority, was forming the most dangerous machinations against him. By these, and the like remonstrances, solicited at home, and in the *forum*, Cato, it is said, was with difficulty prevailed on to take the oath; and that, his friend Favonius excepted, he was the last that took it.

Elated with this success, Cæsar proposed another act for distributing almost the whole province of Campania amongst the poor. Cato alone opposed it. And though Cæsar dragged him from the bench, and conveyed him to prison, he omitted not, nevertheless, to speak as he passed in defence of liberty, to enlarge upon the consequences of the act, and to exhort the citizens to put a stop to such proceedings. The senate, with heavy hearts, and all the virtuous part of the people, followed Cato, with silent indignation.

Cæsar was not inattentive to the public discontent that this proceeding occasioned ; but ambitiously expecting some concessions on the part of Cato, he proceeded to conduct him to prison. At length, however, when he found these expectations vain, unable any longer to support the shame to which this conduct exposed him, he instructed one of the tribunes to rescue him from his officers. The people, notwithstanding, brought into his interest by these public distributions, voted him the province of Illyricum and all Gaul, together with four legions, for the space of five years ; though *Cato foretold them, at the same time, that they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome.* They moreover created Clodius, contrary to the laws (for he was of the patrician order), a tribune of the people, because they knew he would, in every respect, accede to their wishes with regard to the banishment of Cicero. Calpurnius Piso, the father of Cæsar's wife, and Aulus Gabinius,¹ a bosom friend of Pompey's, as we are told by those who knew him best, they created consuls.

Yet, though they had everything in their hands, and had gained one part of the people by favour and the other by fear, still they were afraid of Cato. They remembered the pains it cost them to overbear him, and that the violent and compulsive measures they had recourse to did them but little honour. Clodius, too, saw that he could not distress Cicero while supported by Cato ; yet this was his great object, and, upon his entering on his tribunitial office, he had an interview with Cato ; when, after paying him the compliment of being the most honest man in Rome, he proposed to him, as a testimony of his sincerity, the government of Cyprus, an appointment which he said had been solicited by many. Cato answered, that, far from being a favour, it was a treacherous scheme and a disgrace ; upon which Clodius fiercely replied, " If it is not your pleasure to go, it is mine that you shall go." And saying this, he went immediately to the senate, and procured a decree for Cato's expedition. Yet he neither supplied him with a vessel, a soldier, or a servant, two secretaries excepted, one of whom was a notorious thief, and the other a client of his own. Besides, as if the charge of Cyprus, and the opposition of Ptolemy were not a sufficient task for him, he ordered him likewise to restore the Byzantine exiles. But his view in all this was to keep Cato as long as possible out of Rome.

Cato, thus obliged to go, exhorted Cicero, who was at the same time closely hunted by Clodius, by no means to involve his country in a civil war, but to yield to the necessity of the times.

By means of his friend Canidius, whom he sent before him to Cyprus, he negotiated with Ptolemy in such a manner, that he yielded without coming to blows ; for Cato gave him to understand, that he should not live in a poor or abject condition, but that he

¹ Plutarch does not mean to represent this friendship in any favourable light. The character of Gabinius was despicable

in every respect, as appears from Cicero's oration for Sextus.

should be appointed high priest to the Paphian Venus.¹ While this was negotiating, Cato stopped at Rhodes, at once waiting for Ptolemy's answer, and making preparations for the reduction of the island.

In the meantime Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who had left Alexandria upon some quarrel with his subjects, was on his way to Rome, in order to solicit his re-establishment from Cæsar and Pompey, by means of the Roman arms. Being informed that Cato was at Rhodes, he sent to him, in hopes that he would wait upon him. When his messenger arrived, Cato, who then happened to have taken physic, told him, that if Ptolemy wanted to see him, he might come himself. When he came, Cato neither went forward to meet him, nor did he so much as rise from his seat, but saluted him as he would do a common person, and carelessly bade him sit down. Ptolemy was somewhat hurt by it at first, and surprised to meet with such a supercilious severity of manners in a man of Cato's mean dress and appearance. However, when he entered into conversation with him concerning his affairs, when he heard his free and nervous eloquence, he was easily reconciled to him. Cato, it seems, blamed his impolitic application to Rome; represented to him the happiness he had left, and that he was about to expose himself to toils, the plagues of attendance, and, what was still worse, to the avarice of the Roman chiefs, which the whole kingdom of Egypt, converted into money, could not satisfy. He advised him to return with his fleet, and be reconciled to his people, offering him at the same time his attendance and mediation; and Ptolemy, restored by his representations, as it were, from insanity to reason, admired the discretion, and sincerity of Cato, and determined to follow his advice. His friends, nevertheless, brought him back to his former measures; but he was no sooner at the door of one of the magistrates of Rome than he repented of his folly, and blamed himself for rejecting the virtuous counsels of Cato, as for disobeying the oracle of a god.

Ptolemy of Cyprus, as Cato's good stars would have it, took himself off by poison. As he was said to have left a full treasury, Cato being determined to go himself to Byzantium, sent his nephew Brutus to Cyprus, because he had not sufficient confidence in Canidius: when the exiles were reconciled to the rest of the citizens, and all things quiet in Byzantium, he proceeded to Cyprus. Here he found the royal furniture very magnificent in the articles of vessels, tables, jewels, and purple, all which were to be converted into ready money. In the management of this affair he was very exact, attended at the sales, took the accounts himself, and brought

every article to the best market. Nor would he trust to the common customs of sale-factors, auctioneers, bidders, or even his own friends; but had private conferences with the purchasers, in which he urged them to bid higher, so that everything went off at the greatest rate. By this means he gave offence to many of his friends, and almost implacably affronted his particular friend Munatius, Cæsar, too, in his oration against him, availed himself of this circumstance, and treated him very severely. Munatius, however, tells us that this misunderstanding was not so much occasioned by Cato's distrust, as by his neglect of him, and by his own jealousy of Canidius: for Munatius wrote memoirs of Cato, which Thræas has chiefly followed. He tells us, that he was amongst the last that arrived at Cyprus, and by that means found nothing but the refuse of the lodgings; that he went to Cato's apartments, and was refused admittance, because Cato was privately concerting something with Canidius; and that when he modestly complained of this conduct, he received a severe answer from Cato; who observed, with Theophrastus, that too much love was frequently the occasion of hatred; and that he, because of the strength of his attachment to him, was angry at the slightest inattention. He told him, at the same time, that he made use of Canidius as a necessary agent, and because he had more confidence in him than in the rest, having found him honest, though he had been there from the first, and had opportunities of being otherwise. This conversation, which he had in private with Cato, the latter he informs us related to Canidius; and when this came to his knowledge, he would neither attend at Cato's entertainments, nor, though called upon, assist at his councils. Cato threatened to punish him for disobedience, and, as is usual, to take a pledge from him.¹ Munatius paid no regard to it, but sailed for Rome, and long retained his resentment. Upon Cato's return, by means of Marcia, who at that time lived with her husband, he and Munatius were both invited to sup with Barca. Cato, who came in after the rest of the company had taken their places, asked where he should take his place? Barca answered, where he pleased. "Then," said he, "I will take my place by Munatius." He therefore took his place next him, but he showed him no other marks of friendship during supper; afterwards, however, at the request of Marcia, Cato wrote to him, that he should be glad to see him. He therefore waited on him at his own house, and being entertained by Marcia till the rest of the morning visitors were gone, Cato came in and embraced him with great kindness. We have dwelt upon these little circumstances the longer, as, in our opinion, they contribute, no less than more public and important actions, towards the clear delineation of manners and characters.

Cato in his expedition had acquired nearly 7,000 talents of silver and being under some apprehensions on account of the length of

¹ When a magistrate refused a summons to the senate or public council, the penalty was to take some piece of furniture out of

his house, and to keep it till he should attend. This they called *signora capere*

his voyage, he provided a number of vessels that would hold two talents and five hundred drachmas a-piece. To each of these he tied a long cord, at the end of which was fastened a large piece of cork, so that if any misfortune should happen to the ship that contained them, these buoys might mark the spot where they lay. The whole treasure, however, except a very little, was conveyed with safety. Yet his two books of accounts, which he kept very accurate, were both lost; one by shipwreck with his freedman Philargyrus, and the other by fire at Corcyra; for the sailors, on account of the coldness of the weather, kept fires in the tents by night, and thus the misfortune happened. This troubled Cato, though Ptolemy's servants, whom he had brought over with him, were sufficient vouchers for his conduct, against enemies and informers. For he did not intend these accounts merely as a proof of his honesty, but to recommend the same kind of accuracy and industry to others.

As soon as his arrival with the fleet was notified in Rome, the magistrates, the priests, the whole senate, and multitudes of the people, went down to the river to meet him, and covered both its banks, so that his reception was something like a triumph. Yet there was an ill-timed haughtiness in his conduct; for, though the consuls and prætors came to wait upon him, he did not so much as attempt to make the shore where they were, but rowed carelessly along in a royal six-oared galley, and did not land till he came into port with his whole fleet. The people, however, were struck with admiration at the vast quantity of money that was carried along the streets, and the senate, in full assembly, bestowed the highest encomiums upon him, and voted him a prætorship extraordinary,¹ and the right of attending at the public shows in a prætexta, or purple-bordered gown. But these honours he thought proper to decline. At the same time he petitioned that they would grant his freedom to Nicias, an officer of Ptolemy's, in favour of whose diligence and fidelity he gave his own testimony. Philip, the father of Marcia, was consul at that time, and his colleagues respected Cato no less for his virtue than Philip might for his alliance, so that he had in some measure the whole consular interest in his hands. When Cicero returned from that exile to which he had been sentenced by Clodius, his influence was considerable, and he scrupled not, in the absence of Clodius, to pull down and destroy the tribunal edicts which the latter had put up in the Capitol. Upon this the senate was assembled, and Cicero, upon the accusation of Clodius, made his defence, by alleging that Clodius had not been legally appointed tribune, and that, of course, every act of his office was null and void. Cato interrupted him, and said, "That he was indeed sensible that the whole administration of Clodius had been wicked and absurd; but that if every act of his office were to be annulled, all that he had done in Cyprus would stand for nothing, because his commission,

¹ Cato was then but 38 years of age, and consequently too young to be prætor in

the ordinary way, in which a person could not enter on that office till he was forty.

issuing from a tribune not legally appointed, could not be valid ; that Clodius, though he was of a patrician family, had not been chosen tribune contrary to law, because he had previously been enrolled in the order of plebeians by an act passed for that purpose, and that, if he had acted unjustly in his office, he was liable to personal impeachments, while at the same time the office itself retained its proper force and authority." This occasioned a quarrel for some time between Cicero and Cato, but afterwards they were reconciled.

Cæsar, upon his return out of Gaul, was met by Pompey and Crassus, and it was agreed that the two last should again stand for the consulship, that Cæsar should retain his government five years longer, and that the best provinces, revenues, and troops should be secured to themselves. *This was nothing less than a division of empire, and a plot against the liberties of the commonwealth.* This dangerous junction deterred many men of distinguished rank and integrity from their design of offering themselves candidates for the consulship. Cato, however, prevailed on Lucius Domitius, who married his sister, not to give up the point, nor to resign his pretensions ; for that the contest was not then for the consulship, but for the liberties of Rome. The sober part of the citizens agreed, too, that the consular power should not be suffered to grow so enormous by the union of Crassus and Pompey ; but that, at all events, they were to be separated, and Domitius encouraged and supported in the competition. They assured him, at the same time, that he would have the voices of many of the people, who were at present only silent through fear. Pompey's party, apprehensive of this, lay in wait for Domitius, as he went before day by torchlight into the *Campus Martius*. The torchbearer was killed at the first stroke ; the rest were wounded and fled, Cato and Domitius alone excepted ; for Cato, though he had received a wound in the arm, still kept Domitius on the spot, and conjured him not to desert the cause of liberty while he had life, but to oppose to the utmost those enemies of their country, who showed what use they intended to make of that power which they sought by such execrable means.

Domitius, however, unable to stand the shock, retired, and Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls. Yet Cato gave up nothing for lost, but solicited a prætorship for himself, that he might from thence, as from a kind of fort, militate against the consuls, and not contend with them in the capacity of a private citizen. The consuls, apprehensive that the prætorial power of Cato would not be inferior even to the consular authority, suddenly assembled a small senate, and obtained a decree, that those who were elected prætors should immediately enter upon their office,¹ without waiting the usual time to stand the charge, if any such charge should be brought against them, of bribery and corruption.

¹ There was always a time allotted between nomination and possession ; that

if any undue means had been made use of in the canvass it might be discovered.

By this means they brought in their own creatures and dependents, presided at the election, and gave money to the populace. Yet still the virtue of Cato could not totally lose its weight. There were still those who had honesty enough to be ashamed of selling his interest, and wisdom enough to think that it would be of service to the state to elect him, even at the public expense. He therefore was nominated prætor by the votes of the first-called tribe ; but Pompey scandalously pretending that he heard it thunder, broke up the assembly ; for *it is not common for the Romans to do any business if it thunders*. Afterwards by means of bribery, and by the exclusion of the virtuous part of the citizens from the assembly, they procured Vatinius to be returned prætor instead of Cato. Those electors, it is said, who voted from such iniquitous motives, like so many culprits, immediately ran away. To the rest that assembled and expressed their indignation, Cato was empowered by one of the tribunes to address himself in a speech ; in the course of which he foretold, as if inspired by some divine influence, all those evils that then threatened the commonwealth ; and stirred up the people against Pompey and Crassus, who, in the consciousness of their guilty intentions, feared the control of the prætorial power of Cato. In his return home he was followed by a greater multitude than all that had been appointed prætors united.

When Caius Trebonius moved for the distribution of the consular provinces, and proposed giving Spain and Africa to one of the consuls, and Syria and Egypt to the other, together with fleets and armies, and an unlimited power of making war and extending dominion, the rest of the senate, thinking opposition vain, forbore to speak against the motion. Cato, however, before it was put to the vote, ascended the rostrum, in order to speak, but he was limited to the space of two hours : and when he had spent this time in repetitions, instructions, and predictions, and was proceeding in his discourse, the lictor took him down from the rostrum. Yet still, when below amongst the people, he persisted to speak in behalf of liberty ; and the people readily attended to him, and joined in his indignation, till the consul's headle again laid hold of him, and turned him out of the *forum*. He attempted, notwithstanding, to return to his place, and excited the people to assist him ; which being done more than once, Trebonius, in a violent rage, ordered him to prison. Thither he was followed by the populace, to whom he addressed himself as he went, till, at last, Trebonius, through fear, dismissed him. Thus Cato was rescued that day. But afterwards, the people being partly overawed, and partly corrupted, the consular party prevented Aquilius, one of the tribunes, by force of arms, from coming out of the senate-house into the assembly, wounded many, killed some, and thrust Cato, who said it thundered, out of the *forum* ; so that the law was passed by compulsion. This rendered Pompey so obnoxious, that the people were going to pull down his statues, but were prevented by Cato. Afterwards, when the law was proposed for the allotment of Cæsar's provinces, Cato, addressing himself particularly to

Pompey, told him with great confidence he did not then consider that he was taking Cæsar upon his shoulders ; but when he began to find his weight, and could neither support it nor shake him off, they wou'd both fall together, and crush the commonwealth in their fall ; and then he should find, too late, that the counsels of Cato were no less salutary for himself than intrinsically just. Yet Pompey, though he often heard these things, in the confidence of his fortune and his power, despised them, and feared no reverse from the part of Cæsar.

Cato was the following year appointed prætor ; but he can hardly be said to have contributed so much to the dignity of that high office by the rectitude of his conduct, as to have derogated from it by the meanness of his dress ; for *he would often go to the prætorial bench without his robe or his shoes, and sit in judgment, even in capital cases, on some of the first personages in Rome.* Some will have it, that he passed sentence when he had drunk after dinner, but that is not true. He was resolved to extirpate that extreme corruption which then prevailed amongst the people in elections of every kind ; and, in order to effect this he moved that a law should be passed in the senate, for every candidate, though no information should be laid, to declare upon oath in what manner he obtained his election. This gave offence to the candidates, and to the more mercenary part of the people. So that, as Cato was going in the morning to the tribunal, he was so much insulted and pelted with stones by the mob, that the whole court fled, and he with difficulty escaped into the rostrum. There he stood, and his firm and steady aspect soon hushed the clamours and disorders of the populace ; so that when he spoke upon the subject, he was heard with a general silence.¹ The senate publicly testified their approbation of his conduct ; but he answered, that no compliment could be paid to them at least for deserting the prætor, and declining to assist him when in manifest danger. This measure distressed the candidates considerably ; for, on the one hand, they were afraid of giving bribes, and on the other, they were apprehensive of losing their election, if it should be done by their opponents. They thought it best, therefore, jointly, to deposit 500 sestertia each,² then to canvass in a fair and legal manner, and if any one should be convicted of bribery, he should forfeit his deposit. Cato was appointed guarantee of this agreement, and the

¹ This circumstance in Cato's life affords a good comment on the following passage in Virgil, and at the same time the laboured dignity and weight of that verse :—

—Fleatæ gravem et meritis at forte
virum quem,

conveys a very strong and just idea of Cato

Ac veluti magno in populo cum
prece coustitit

Seditio, sæpiusque animis ignobile
vulgus ;
Jamque facies et æqua volant ; furor
arma minuat,
Tum, prætate gravem et mortis æ
forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrestisque
auribus adstant ;
Ille regit dictis, animos et pectora
mulcet.

VIRG. ÆN. 1

² Cicero speaks of this agreement in one of his orations to Atticus.

money was to be lodged in his hands; but for this he accepted of sureties. When the day of election came, Cato stood next to the tribune who presided, and, as he examined the votes, one of the depositing candidates appeared to have made use of some fraud. He therefore ordered him to pay the money to the rest. But, after complimenting the integrity of Cato, they remitted the fine, and said that the guilt was a sufficient punishment. Cato, however, rendered himself obnoxious to many by this conduct, who seemed displeased that he affected both the legislative and judicial power. Indeed, there is hardly any authority so much exposed to envy as the latter, and hardly any virtue so obnoxious as that of justice, owing to the popular weight and influence that it always carries along with it. For though he who administers justice in a virtuous manner may not be respected as a man of valour, nor admired as a man of parts, yet his integrity is always productive of love and confidence. Valour produces fear, and parts create suspicion; they are distinctions, moreover, which are rather given than acquired. One arises from a natural acuteness, the other from a natural firmness of mind. However, as justice is a virtue so easily practicable and obtainable, the opposite vice is proportionably odious.

Thus Cato became obnoxious to the chiefs of Rome in general. But Pompey in particular, whose glory was to rise out of the ruins of his power, laboured with unwearied assiduity to procure impeachments against him. The incendiary Clodius, who had again entered the lists of Pompey, accused Cato of embezzling a quantity of the Cyprian treasure, and of raising an opposition to Pompey, because the latter had refused to accept of his daughter in marriage. Cato, on the other hand, maintained that though he was not so much as supplied with a horse, or a soldier, by the government, yet he had brought more treasure to the commonwealth from Cyprus than Pompey had done from so many wars and triumphs over the harassed world. He asserted that he never even wished for the alliance of Pompey, not because he thought him unworthy, but because of the difference of their political principles. "For my own part," said he, "I rejected the province offered me as an appendage to my prætorship; but for Pompey, he arrogated some provinces to himself, and some he bestowed on his friends. Nay, he has now, without even soliciting your consent, accommodated Cæsar in Gaul with 6,000 soldiers. Such forces, armaments, and horses, are now, it seems, at the disposal of private men: and Pompey retains the title of commander and general, while he delegates to others the legions and the provinces; and continues within the walls to preside at elections, the arbiter of the mob, and the fabricator of sedition. From this conduct his principles are obvious. *He holds it but one step from anarchy to absolute power.*"¹ Thus Cato maintained his party against Pompey.

¹ This maxim has been verified in almost every state. When ambitious men aimed

at absolute power, their first measure was to impede the regular movements of the

Marcus Favonius was the intimate friend and imitator of Cato, as Apollodorus Phalereus¹ is said to have been of Socrates, whose discourses he was transported with even to madness or intoxication. This Favonius stood for the office of *ædile*, and apparently lost it; but Cato, upon examining the votes, and finding them all to be written in the same hand, appealed against the fraud, and the tribunes set aside the election. Favonius, therefore, was elected, and in the discharge of the several offices of his magistracy he had the assistance of Cato, particularly in the theatrical entertainments that were given to the people. In these Cato gave another specimen of his economy; for he did not allow the players and musicians crowns of gold, but of wild olive, such as they use in the Olympic games. Instead of expensive presents, he gave the Greeks beets and lettuces, and radishes and parsley; and the Romans he presented with jugs of wine, pork, figs, cucumbers, and faggots of wood. Some ridiculed the meanness of his presents, while others were delighted with this relaxation from the usual severity of his manners. And Favonius, who appeared only as a common person amongst the spectators, and had given up the management of the whole to Cato, declared the same to the people, and publicly applauded his conduct, exhorting him to reward merit of every kind. Curio, the colleague of Favonius, exhibited at the same time in the other theatre a very magnificent entertainment; but the people left him, and were much more entertained with seeing Favonius act the private citizen, and Cato master of the ceremonies. It is probable, however, that he took this upon him only to show the folly of troublesome and expensive preparations in matters of mere amusement, and that the benevolence and good humour suitable to such occasions would have better effect.

When Scipio, Hypsæus, and Milo, were candidates for the consulship, and, beside the usual infamous practices of bribery and corruption, had recourse to violence and murder and civil war, it was proposed that Pompey should be appointed protector of the election. But Cato opposed this, and said that the laws should not derive their security from Pompey, but that Pompey should owe his to the laws.

However, when the consular power had been long suspended, and the *forum* was in some measure besieged by three armies, Cato, that things might not come to the worst, recommended to the senate to confer that power on Pompey as a favour, with which his own influence would otherwise invest him; and by that means to make a less evil the remedy for a greater. Bibulus, therefore, an agent of Cato's, moved in the senate that Pompey should be created sole consul; adding, that his administration would either be of the greatest service to the state, or that, at least, if the commonwealth

constitutional government by throwing all into confusion, that they might ascend to monarchy as Æneas went to the throne of Carthage, involved in a cloud.

¹ See Plato's *Paedo*, and the beginning of the *Symposium*. This Apollodorus was surnamed *Manticus* from his passionate enthusiasm.

must have a master, it would have the satisfaction of being under the auspices of the greatest man in Rome. Cato, contrary to every one's expectation, seconded the motion, intimating that any government was preferable to anarchy, and that Pompey promised fair for a constitutional administration, and for the preservation of the city.

Pompey being thus elected consul, invited Cato to his house in the suburbs. He received him with the greatest caresses and acknowledgments, and entreated him to assist in his administration, and to preside at his councils. Cato answered that he had neither formerly opposed Pompey out of private enmity, nor supported him of late out of personal favour; but that the welfare of the state had been his motive in both: that, in private, he would assist him with his counsel whenever he should be called upon; but that, in public, he should speak his sentiments, whether they might be in Pompey's favour or not. And he did not fail to do as he said. For, soon after, when Pompey proposed severe punishments and penalties against those who had been guilty of bribery, Cato gave it as his opinion, that the past should be overlooked, and the future only adverted to; for that if he should scrutinise into former offences of that kind, it would be difficult to say where it would end; and should he establish penal laws, *ex post facto*, it would be hard that those who were convicted of former offences should suffer for the breach of those laws which were then not in being. Afterwards, too, when impeachments were brought against several persons of rank, and some of Pompey's friends amongst the rest, Cato, when he observed that Pompey favoured the latter, reproved him with great freedom, and urged him to the discharge of his duty. Pompey had enacted, that encomiums should no longer be spoken in favour of the prisoner at the bar; and yet he gave into the court a written encomium on Munatius Plancus,¹ when he was upon his trial; but Cato, when he observed this, as he was one of the judges, stopped his ears, and forbade the apology to be read. Plancus, upon this, objected to Cato's being one of the judges; yet he was condemned notwithstanding. Indeed Cato gave the criminals in general no small perplexity; for they were equally afraid of having him for their judge, and of objecting to him; as in the latter case it was generally understood that they were unwilling to rely on their innocence, and by the same means were condemned. Nay, to object to the judgment of Cato became a common handle of accusation and reproach.

Cæsar, at the same time that he was prosecuting the war in Gaul, was cultivating his interest in the city by all that friendship and munificence could effect. Pompey saw this, and waked, as from a dream, to the warnings of Cato: yet he remained indolent; and Cato, who perceived the political necessity of opposing Cæsar, de-

¹ Munatius Plancus, who in the Greek is by mistake called Flaccus, was then tribune of the people. He was accused

by Clæro, and defended by Pompey, but unanimously condemned.

terminated himself to stand for the consulship, that he might thereby oblige him either to lay down his arms or discover his designs. Cato's competitors were both men of credit; but Sulpicius,¹ who was one of them, had himself derived great advantages from the authority of Cato. On this account, he was censured as ungrateful; though Cato was not offended: "For what wonder," said he, "is it, that what a man esteems the greatest happiness he should not give up to another?" *He procured an act in the senate, that no candidate should canvass by means of others.* This exasperated the people; because it cut off at once the means of cultivating favour, and conveying bribes; and thereby rendered the lower order of citizens poor and insignificant. It was in some measure owing to this act that he lost the consulship; for he consulted his dignity too much to canvass in a popular manner himself, and his friends could not then do it for him.

A repulse, in this case, is for some time attended with shame and sorrow both to the candidate and his friends; but Cato was so little affected by it that he anointed himself to play at ball, and walked as usual after dinner with his friends in the *forum*, without his shoes or his tunic. Cicero, sensible how much Rome wanted such a consul, at once blamed his indolence, with regard to courting the people on this occasion, and his inattention to future success: whereas he had twice applied for the prætorship. Cato answered, that his ill success in the latter case was not owing to the aversion of the people, but to the corrupt and compulsive measures used amongst them; whilst in an application for the consulship no such measures could be used; and he was sensible, therefore, that the citizens were offended by those manners which it did not become a wise man either to change for their sakes, or by repeating his application, to expose himself to the same ill success.

Cæsar had, at this time, obtained many dangerous victories over warlike nations; and had fallen upon the Germans, though at peace with the Romans, and slain 300,000 of them. Many of the citizens, on this occasion, voted a public thanksgiving; but Cato was of a different opinion, and said, "That Cæsar should be given up to the nations he had injured, that his conduct might not bring a curse upon the city; yet the gods," he said, "ought to be thanked, notwithstanding, that the soldiers had not suffered for the madness and wickedness of their general, but that they had in mercy spared the state." Cæsar, upon this, sent letters to the senate full of invectives against Cato. When they were read, Cato rose with great calmness, and in a speech, so regular that it seemed premeditated, said, that, with regard to the letters, as they contained nothing but a little of Cæsar's buffoonery, they deserved not to be answered; and then, laying open the whole plan of Cæsar's conduct, more like a friend who knew his bosom counsels than an enemy, *he showed the senate that it was not the Britons or the*

¹ The competitors were M. Claudius Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. The latter, according to Dion, was chosen

for his knowledge of the laws and the former for his eloquence.

Gauls they had to fear, but Cæsar himself. This alarmed them so much, that Cæsar's friends were sorry they had produced the letters that occasioned it. Nothing, however, was then resolved upon : only it was debated concerning the propriety of appointing a successor to Cæsar ; and when Cæsar's friends required, that, in case thereof, Pompey too should relinquish his army, and give up his provinces : " Now," cried Cato, " is coming to pass the event that I foretold.¹ It is obvious, that Cæsar will have recourse to arms ; and that the power which he has obtained by deceiving the people, he will make use of to enslave them." However, Cato had but little influence out of the senate, for the people were bent on aggrandising Cæsar ; and even the senate, while convinced by the arguments of Cato, was afraid of the people.

When the news was brought that Cæsar had taken Arminium, and was advancing with his army towards Rome, the people in general, and even Pompey, cast their eyes upon Cato, as on the only person who had foreseen the original designs of Cæsar. " Had ye then," said Cato, " attended to my counsels, you would neither now have feared the power of one man, nor would it have been in one man that you should have placed your hopes." Pompey answered, that " Cato had indeed been a better prophet, but that he had himself acted a more friendly part." And Cato then advised the senate to put everything into the hands of Pompey. " For the authors of great evils," he said, " know best how to remove them." As Pompey perceived that his forces were insufficient, and even the few that he had by no means hearty in his cause, he thought proper to leave the city. Cato, being determined to follow him, sent his youngest son to Munatius, who was in the country of the Brutii, and took the eldest along with him. As his family, and particularly his daughters, wanted a proper superintendent, he took Marcia again, who was then a rich widow ; for Hortensius was dead, and had left her his whole estate. This circumstance gave Cæsar occasion to reproach Cato with his avarice, and to call him the mercenary husband. " For why," said he, " did he part with her, if he had occasion for her himself? And, if he had not occasion for her, why did he take her again? The reason is obvious. It was the wealth of Hortensius. He lent the young man his wife, that he might make her a rich widow." But, in answer to this, one need only quote that passage of Euripides,

Call Hercules a coward!

¹ But was not this very impolitic in Cato? Was it not a vain sacrifice to his ambition of prophecy? Cæsar could not long remain unacquainted with what had passed in the senate: and Cato's observation on this occasion was not much more discreet than it would be to tell a madman, who had a flambeau in his hand, that he intended to burn a house. Cato, in our opinion, with all his virtue, contributed no less to the destruction of the common-

wealth than Cæsar himself. Wherefore did he idly exasperate that ambitious man, by objecting against a public thanksgiving for his victories? There was a prejudice in that part of Cato's conduct which had but the shadow of virtue to support it. Nay, it is more than probable, that it was out of spite to Cæsar that Cato gave the whole consular power to Pompey. It must be remembered that Cæsar had debauched Cato's sister.

For it would be equally absurd to reproach Cato with covetousness as it would be to charge Hercules with want of courage. Whether the conduct of Cato was altogether unexceptionable in this affair is another question. However, as soon as he had remarried Marcia, he gave her the charge of his family, and followed Pompey.

From that time, it is said that he neither cut his hair, nor shaved his beard, nor wore a garland; but was uniform in his dress, as in his anguish for his country. On which side soever victory might for a while decree, he changed not on that account his habits. Being appointed to the government of Sicily, he passed over to Syracuse; and finding that Asinius Pollio was arrived at Messina with a detachment from the enemy, he sent to him to demand the reason of his coming; but Pollio only answered his question by another, and demanded of Cato to know the cause of the revolutions. When he was informed that Pompey had evacuated Italy, and was encamped at Dyrrachium, "How mysterious," said he, "are the ways of Providence! When Pompey neither acted upon the principles of wisdom nor of justice, he was invincible; but now that he would save the liberties of his country, his good fortune seems to have forsaken him." Asinius, he said, he could easily drive out of Sicily; but as greater supplies were at hand, he was unwilling to involve the island in war. He therefore advised the Syracusans to consult their safety by joining the stronger party; and soon after set sail. When he came to Pompey, his constant sentiments were, that the war should be procrastinated in hopes of peace; for that, if they came to blows, which party soever might be successful, the event would be decisive against the liberties of the state. He also prevailed on Pompey, and the council of war, that neither any city subject to the Romans should be sacked, nor any Roman killed, except in the field of battle. By this he gained great glory, and brought over many, by his humanity, to the interest of Pompey.

When he went into Asia for the purpose of raising men and ships, he took with him his sister Servilia, and a little boy that she had by Lucullus; for, since the death of her husband, she had lived with him; and this circumstance of putting herself under the eye of Cato, and of following him through the severe discipline of camps, greatly recovered her reputation; yet Cæsar did not fail to censure Cato even on her account.

Though Pompey's officers in Asia did not think that they had much need of Cato's assistance, yet he had brought over the Rhodians to their interest; and there leaving his sister Servilia and her son, he joined Pompey's forces, which were now on a respectable footing, both by sea and land. It was on this occasion that Pompey discovered his final views. At first, he intended to have given Cato the supreme naval command; and he had then no fewer than 500 men of war, besides an infinite number of open galleys and tenders. Reflecting, however, or reminded by his friends, that Cato's great principle was on all occasions to rescue

the commonwealth from the government of an individual ; and that, if invested with so considerable a power himself, the moment Cæsar should be vanquished, he would oblige Pompey too to lay down his arms, and submit to the laws ; he changed his intentions, though he had already mentioned them to Cato, and gave the command of the fleet to Bibulus. The zeal of Cato, however, was not abated by this conduct. When they were on the eve of battle at Dyrrachium, Pompey himself addressed and encouraged the army, and ordered his officers to do the same. Their addresses, notwithstanding, were coldly received. But when Cato rose and spoke, upon the principles of philosophy, concerning liberty, virtue, death, and glory ; when, by his impassioned action, he showed that he felt what he spoke, and that his eloquence took its glowing colours from his soul ; when he concluded with an invocation to the gods, as witnesses of their efforts for the preservation of their country ;—the plaudits of the army rent the skies, and the generals marched on in full confidence of victory. They fought, and were victorious ; though Cæsar's good genius availed him of the frigid caution and diffidence of Pompey, and rendered the victory incomplete. Amid the general joy that followed this success, Cato alone mourned over his country, and bewailed that fatal and cruel ambition which covered the field with bodies of citizens fallen by the hands of each other. When Pompey, in pursuit of Cæsar, proceeded to Thessaly, and left in Dyrrachium a large quantity of arms and treasure, together with some friends and relations, he gave the whole in charge to Cato, with the command of 15 cohorts only ; for still he was afraid of his republican principles. If he should be vanquished, indeed, he knew Cato would be faithful to him ; but if he should be victor, he knew, at the same time, that he would not permit him to reap the reward of conquest in the sweets of absolute power. Cato, however, had the satisfaction of being attended by many illustrious persons in Dyrrachium.

After the fatal overthrow at Pharsalia, Cato determined, in case of Pompey's death, to conduct the people under his charge to Italy, and then to retire into exile, far from the cognizance of the power of the tyrant ; but if Pompey survived, he was resolved to keep his little 'orces together for him. With this design, he passed into Corcyra, where the fleet was stationed : and would there have resigned his command to Cicero, because he had been consul and himself only prætor. But Cicero declined it, and set sail for Italy. Pompey the Younger resented this defection, and was about to lay violent hands on Cicero and some others, but Cato prevented him by private expostulation ; and thus saved the lives both of Cicero and the rest.

Cato, upon a supposition that Pompey the Great would make his escape into Egypt or Libya, prepared to follow him, together with his little force, after having first given, to such as chose it, the liberty of staying behind. As soon as he had reached the African coast, he met with Sextus, Pompey's younger son, who acquainted

him with the death of his father. This greatly afflicted the little band ; but as Pompey was no more, they unanimously resolved to have no other leader than Cato. Cato, out of compassion to the honest men that had put their confidence in him, and because he would not leave them destitute in a foreign country, took upon him the command. He first made for Cyrene, and was received by the people, though they had before shut their gates against Labienus. Here he understood that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was entertained by Juba ; and that Appius Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government of Africa, had joined them with his forces. Cato, therefore, resolved to march to them by land, as it was now winter. He had got together a great many asses to carry water ; and furnished himself also with cattle and other victualling provisions, as well as with a number of carriages. He had likewise in his train some of the people called *Psylli*,¹ who obviate the bad effects of the bite of serpents, by sucking out the poison ; and deprive the serpents themselves of their ferocity by their charms. During a continued march for seven days, he was always foremost, though he made use of neither horse nor chariot. Even after the unfortunate battle of Pharsalia, he ate sitting,² intending it as an additional token of mourning, that he never lay down except to sleep.

By the end of winter he reached the place of his designation in Libya, with an army of near 10,000 men. The affairs of Scipio and Varus were in a bad situation, by reason of the misunderstanding and distraction which prevailed between them, and which led them to pay their court with great servility to Juba, whose health and power rendered him intolerably arrogant. For when the first gave Cato audience, he took his place between Scipio and Varus. But Cato took up his chair and removed it to the other side of Scipio ; thus giving him the most honourable place, though he was his enemy, and had published a libel against him. Cato's adversaries have not paid proper regard to his spirit on this occasion, but they

¹ These people were so called from their king *Psyllus*, whose tomb was in the region of the *Syria*. Varro tells us, that to try the legitimacy of their children, they suffer them to be bitten by a venomous serpent ; and if they survive the wound, they conclude that they are not spurious. Crates *Pergamensis* says, there were a people of this kind at *Paros* on the *Helle-spont*, called *Ophiogenes*, whose touch alone was a cure for the bite of a serpent. Celsus observes, that the *Psylli* suck out the poison from the wound, not by any superior skill or quality, but because they have courage enough to do it. Some writers have asserted that the *Psylli* have an innate quality in their constitution that is poisonous to serpents ; and that the smell of it throws them into a profound sleep. *Pliny* maintains, that every man has in himself a natural poison for serpents ; and that those creatures will

shun the human saliva, as they would boiling water. The fasting saliva, in particular, if it comes within their mouths, kills them immediately. If, therefore, we may believe that the human saliva is an antidote to the poison of a serpent, we shall have no occasion to believe, at the same time, that the *Psylli* were endowed with any peculiar qualities of this kind, but that their success in these operations arose, as Celsus says, *Ex antidoto non confirmato*. However, they made a considerable trade of it ; and we are assured, that they have been known to import the African serpents into Italy, and other countries, to increase their gain. *Pliny* says, they brought scorpions into Sicily, but they would not live in that island.

² The consul Varro did the same after the battle of *Cannæ*. It was a ceremony of mourning.

have been ready enough to blame him for putting Philostratus in the middle, when he was walking with him one day in Sicily, though he did it entirely out of regard to philosophy. In this manner he humbled Juba, who had considered Scipio and Varus as little more than his lieutenants ; and he took care also to reconcile them to each other.

The whole army then desired him to take the command upon him ; and Scipio and Varus readily offered to resign it ; but he said, " He would not transgress the laws, for the sake of which he was waging war with the man who trampled upon them ; nor, when he was only *proprator*, take the command from a *proconsul*." For Scipio had been appointed proconsul ; and his name inspired the generality with hopes of success ; for they thought a Scipio could not be beaten in Africa.

Scipio being established commander-in-chief, to gratify Juba, was inclined to put all the inhabitants of Utica to the sword, and to raze the city as a place engaged in the interest of Cæsar. But Cato would not suffer it : he inveighed loudly in council against that design, invoking heaven and earth to oppose it ; and, with much difficulty, rescued that people out of the hands of cruelty. After which, partly on their application, and partly at the request of Scipio, he agreed to take the command of the town, that it might neither willingly nor unwillingly fall into the hands of Cæsar. Indeed, it was a place very convenient and advantageous to those who were masters of it ; and Cato added much to its strength, as well as convenience. For he brought into it a vast quantity of bread-corn, repaired the walls, erected towers, and fortified it with ditches and ramparts. Then he armed all the youth of Utica, and posted them in the trenches under his eye ; as for the rest of the inhabitants, he kept them close within the walls ; but, at the same time, took great care that they should suffer no injury of any kind from the Romans. And by the supply of arms, of money, and provisions, which he sent in great quantities to the camp, Utica came to be considered as the principal magazine.

The advice he had before given to Pompey, he now gave to Scipio, " Not to risk a battle with an able and experienced warrior, but to take the advantage of time, which most effectually blasts the growth of tyranny." Scipio, however, in his rashness, despised these counsels, and once even scrupled not to reproach Cato with cowardice ; asking, " Whether he could not be satisfied with sitting still himself within the walls and bars, unless he hindered others from taking bolder measures upon occasion ?" Cato wrote back, " That he was ready to cross over into Italy with the horse and foot which he had brought into Africa, and, by bringing Cæsar upon himself, to draw him from his design against Scipio." But Scipio only ridiculed the proposal ; and it was plain that Cato now repented his giving up to him the command, since he saw that Scipio would take no rational scheme for the conduct of the war ; and that if he should, beyond all expectation, succeed, he would behave with no kind of moderation to the citizens.—It was

therefore Cato's judgment, and he often declared it to his friends, "That, by reason of the incapacity and rashness of the generals, he could hope no good end of the war; and that, even if victory should declare for them, and Cæsar be destroyed, for his part he would not stay at Rome, but fly from the cruelty and inhumanity of Scipio, who already threw out insolent menaces against many of the Romans."

The thing came to pass sooner than he expected. About midnight a person arrived from the army, whence he had been three days in coming, with news that a great battle had been fought at Thaspos; that all was lost; that Cæsar was master of both the camps; and that Scipio and Juba were fled with a few troops, which had escaped the general slaughter.

On the receipt of such tidings, the people of Utica, as might be expected amidst the apprehensions of night and war, were in the utmost distraction, and could scarce keep themselves within the walls. But Cato making his appearance among the citizens, who were running up and down the streets with great confusion and clamour, encouraged them in the best manner he could. To remove the violence of terror and astonishment, he told them the case might not be so bad as it was represented, the misfortune being probably exaggerated by report; and thus he calmed the present tumult. As soon as it was light, he summoned to the temple of Jupiter the 300 whom he made use of as a council. These were the Romans who trafficked there in merchandise and exchange of money; and to them he added all the senators and their sons. While they were assembling, he entered the house with great composure and firmness of look, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, and read a book which he had in his hand. This contained an account of the stores, the corn, the arms, and other implements of war, and the musters.

When they were met, he opened the matter by commending the 300 for the extraordinary alacrity and fidelity they had shown in serving the public cause with their purses, their persons, and their counsels; and exhorting them not to entertain different views, or to endeavour to save themselves by flight; "for," continued he, "if you keep in a body, Cæsar will not hold you in such contempt, if you continue the war; and you will be more likely to be spared, if you have recourse to submission. I desire you will consider the point thoroughly, and what resolution soever you may take, I will not blame you. If you are inclined to go with the stream of fortune, I shall impute the change to the necessity of the times. If you bear up against their threatening aspect, and continue to face danger in the cause of liberty, I will be your fellow-soldier, as well as captain, till our country has experienced the last issues of her fate: our country, which is not in Utica, or Dyrrachium, but Rome; and she, in her vast resources, has often recovered herself from greater falls than this. Many resources we certainly have at present; and the principal is, that we have to contend with a man whose occasions oblige him to attend to various objects. Spain is

gone over to young Pompey, and Rome, as yet unaccustomed to the yoke, is ready to spurn it from her, and to rise on any prospect of change. Nor is danger to be declined. In this you may take your enemy for a pattern, who is prodigal of his blood in the most iniquitous cause ; whereas, if you succeed, you will live extremely happy ; if you miscarry, the uncertainties of war will be terminated with a glorious death. However, deliberate among yourselves as to the steps you should take, first entreating Heaven to prosper your determinations in a manner worthy the courage and zeal you have already shown."

This speech of Cato's inspired some with confidence, and even with hope ; and the generality were so much affected with his intrepid, his generous, and humane turn of mind, that they almost forgot their present danger ; and looking upon him as the only general that was invincible, and superior to all fortune, " They desired him to make what use he thought proper of their fortunes and their arms ; for that it was better to die under his banner than to save their lives at the expense of betraying so much virtue." One of the council observed the expediency of a decree for enfranchising the slaves, and many commended the motion : Cato, however, said " He would not do that, because it was neither just nor lawful ; but such as their masters would voluntarily discharge, he would receive, provided they were of proper age to bear arms." This many promised to do ; and Cato withdrew, after having ordered lists to be made out of all that should offer.

A little after this, letters were brought him from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who lay with a small corps concealed in the mountains, desired to know Cato's intentions ; proposing to wait for him if he left Utica, or to assist him if he chose to stand a siege. Scipio also lay at anchor under a promontory near Utica, expecting an answer on the same account.

Cato thought it advisable to keep the messenger till he should know the final determination of the 300. All of the patrician order with great readiness enfranchised and armed their slaves ; but as for the 300, who dealt in traffic and loans of money at high interest, and whose slaves were a considerable part of their fortune, the impression which Cato's speech had made upon them did not last long. As some bodies easily receive heat, and as easily grow cold again when the fire is removed, so the sight of Cato warmed and liberalised these traders ; but when they came to consider the matter among themselves, the dread of Cæsar soon put to flight their reverence for Cato, and for virtue. For thus they talked—" What are we, and what is the man whose orders we refuse to receive ? Is it not Cæsar into whose hands the whole power of the Roman empire is fallen ? And surely none of us is a Scipio, a Pompey, or a Cato. Shall we, at a time when their fears make all men entertain sentiments beneath their dignity—shall we, in Utica, fight for the liberty of Rome with a man against whom Cato and Pompey the Great durst not make a stand in Italy ? Shall we enfranchise our slaves to oppose Cæsar, who have no more liberty

ourselves than that conqueror is pleased to leave us? Ah! wretches that we are! Let us at least know ourselves and send deputies to intercede with him for mercy." This was the language of the most moderate among the 300; but the greater part of them lay in wait for the patricians, thinking, if they could seize upon them, they should more easily make their peace with Cæsar. Cato suspected the change, but made no remonstrances against it; he only wrote to Scipio and Juba, to keep at a distance from Utica because the 300 were not to be depended upon.

In the meantime a considerable body of cavalry, who had escaped out of the battle approached Utica, and despatched three men to Cato, though they could come to no unanimous resolution. For some were for joining Juba, some Cato, and others were afraid to enter Utica. This account being brought to Cato, he ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend to the business of the 300, and quietly to take down the names of such as offered to set free their slaves, without pretending to use the least compulsion. Then he went out of the town, taking the senators with him, to a conference with the principal officers of the cavalry. He entreated their officers not to abandon so many Roman senators; nor to choose Juba, rather than Cato, for their general; but to join, and mutually contribute to each other's safety by entering the city, which was impregnable in point of strength, and had provisions and everything necessary for defence for many years. The senators seconded this application with prayers and tears. The officers went to consult the troops under their command; and Cato, with the senators, sat down upon one of the mounds to wait their answer.

At that moment Rubrius came up in great fury, inveighing against the 300, who, he said, behaved in a very disorderly manner, and were raising commotions in the city. Upon this, many of the senators thought their condition desperate, and gave into the utmost expressions of grief. But Cato endeavoured to encourage them, and requested the 300 to have patience.

Nor was there anything moderate in the proposals of the cavalry. The answer from them was, "That they had no desire to be in the pay of Juba; nor did they fear Cæsar while they should have Cato for their general; but to be shut up with Uticans, Phœnicians, who would change with the wind, was a circumstance which they could not bear to think of; for," said they, "if they are quiet now, yet when Cæsar arrives, they will betray us and conspire our destruction. Whoever, therefore, desires us to range under his banner there, must first expel the Uticans, or put them to the sword, and then call us into a place clear of enemies and barbarians." These proposals appeared to Cato extremely barbarous and savage: however he mildly answered, "That he would talk with the 300 about them." Then, entering the city again, he applied to that set of men, who now no longer, out of reverence to him, dissembled or palliated their designs. They openly expressed their resentment that any citizens should presume to lead

them against Cæsar, with whom all contest was beyond their power and their hopes. Nay, some went so far as to say, "That the senators ought to be detained in the town till Cæsar came." Cato let this pass as if he heard it not ; and, indeed, he was a little deaf

But being informed that the cavalry were marching off, he was afraid that the 300 would take some desperate step with respect to the senators, and he therefore went in pursuit of them with his friends. As he found they were got under march, he rode after them. It was with pleasure they saw him approach ; and they exhorted him to go with them, and save his life with theirs. On this occasion, it is said that Cato shed tears, while he interceded with extended hands in behalf of the senators. He even turned the heads of some of their horses, and laid hold of their armour, till he prevailed with them to stay, at least, that day, to secure the retreat of the senators.

When he came back with them, and had committed the charge of the gates to some, and the citadel to others, the 300 were under great apprehensions of being punished for their inconstancy, and sent to beg of Cato, by all means, to come and speak to them. But the senators would not suffer him to go. They said they would never let their guardian and deliverer come into the hands of such perfidious and traitorous men. It was now, indeed, that Cato's virtue appeared to all ranks of men in Utica in the clearest light, and commanded the highest love and admiration. Nothing could be more evident than that the most perfect integrity was the guide of his actions. He had long resolved to put an end to his being, and yet he submitted to inexpressible labours, cares and conflicts, for others ; that, after he had secured their lives, he might relinquish his own. For his intentions in that respect were obvious enough, though he endeavoured to conceal them.

Therefore, after having satisfied the senators as well as he could, he went alone to wait upon the 300. "They thanked him for the favour, and entreated him to trust them and make use of their services : but as they were not Cato's nor had Cato's dignity of mind, they hoped he would pity their weakness. They told him they had resolved to send deputies to Cæsar, to intercede first and principally for Cato. If that request should not be granted, they would have no obligation to him for any favour to themselves ; but as long as they had breath, would fight for Cato." Cato made his acknowledgments for their regard, and advised them to send immediately to intercede for themselves. "*For me,*" said he, "*intercede not. It is for the conquered to turn suppliants, and for those who have done an injury to beg pardon. For my part, I have been unconquered through life and superior in the things I wished to be ; for in justice and honour I am Cæsar's superior. Cæsar is the vanquished, the falling man, being now clearly convicted of those designs against his country which he had long denied.*"

After he had thus spoken to the 300, he left them ; and being

informed that Cæsar was already on his march to Utica, "Strange!" said he, "it seems he takes us for men." He then went to the senators, and desired them to hasten their flight while the cavalry remained. He likewise shut all the gates, except that which leads to the sea, appointed ships for those who were to depart; provided for good order in the town: redressed grievances; composed disturbances and furnished all who wanted, with the necessary provisions for the voyage. About this time Marcus Octavius¹ approached the place with two legions; and, as soon as he had encamped, sent to desire Cato to settle with him the business of the command. Cato gave the messenger no answer, but turning to his friends, said, "Need we wonder that our cause has not prospered when we retain our ambition on the very brink of ruin?"

In the meantime, having intelligence that the cavalry, at their departure, were taking the goods of the Uticans as a lawful prize, he hastened up to them, and snatched the plunder out of the hands of the foremost, upon which they all threw down what they had got, and retired in silence, dejected and ashamed. He then assembled the Uticans, and applied to them in behalf of the 300, desiring them not to exasperate Cæsar against those Romans, but to act in concert with them, and consult each other's safety. After which he returned to the seaside to look upon the embarkation; and such of his friends and acquaintances as he could persuade to go, he embraced, and dismissed with great marks of affection. His son was not willing to go with the rest; and he thought it was not right to insist on his leaving a father he was so fond of. There was one Statyllius,² a young man, who affected a firmness of resolution above his years, and, in all respects, studied to appear, like Cato, superior to passion. As this young man's enmity to Cæsar was well known, Cato desired him by all means to take ship with the rest; and, when he found him bent upon staying, he turned to Apollonides the Stoic, and Demetrius the Peripatetic, and said, "It is your business to reduce this man's extravagance of mind, and to make him see what is for his good." He now dismissed all except such as had business of importance with him; and upon these he spent that night and great part of the day following.

Lucius Cæsar, a relation of the conqueror, who intended to intercede for the 300, desired Cato to assist him in composing a suitable speech. "And for you," said he, "I shall think it an honour to become the most humble suppliant, and even to throw myself at his feet." Cato, however, would not suffer it: "If I chose to be indebted," said he, "to Cæsar for my life, I ought to go in person, and without any mediator; but I will not have any obligation to a tyrant in a business by which he subverts the laws. And he does subvert the laws, by saving, as a master, those over

¹ The name who commanded Pompey's fleet.

² This brave young Roman was the same who, after the battle of Philippi,

went through the enemy, to inquire into the condition of Brutus's camp, and was slain in his return by Cæsar's soldiers.

whom he has no right of authority. Nevertheless, we will consider, if you please, how to make your application most effectual in behalf of the 300."

After he had spent some time with Lucius Cæsar upon this affair, he recommended his son and friends to his protection, conducted him a little on his way, and then took his leave, and retired to his own house. His son and the rest of his friends being assembled there, he discoursed with them a considerable time; and, among other things, charged the young man to take no share in the administration. "For the state of affairs," said he, "is such, that it is impossible for you to fill any office in a manner worthy of Cato; and to do it otherwise would be unworthy of yourself."

In the evening he went to the bath; where, bethinking himself of Statyllius, he called out aloud to Apollonides, and said, "Have you taken down the pride of that young man? and is he gone without bidding us farewell?" "No, indeed," answered the philosopher, "we have taken a great deal of pains with him; but he continues as lofty and resolute as ever; he says he will stay, and certainly follow your conduct." Cato then smiled, and said, "That will soon be seen."

After bathing, he went to supper, with a large company, at which he sat, as he had always done since the battle of Pharsalia; for he never now lay down except to sleep. All his friends, and the magistrates of Utica, supped with him. After supper, the wine was seasoned with much wit and learning; and many questions in philosophy were proposed and discussed. In the course of the conversation, they came to the paradoxes of the Stoics (for so their maxims are commonly called), and to this in particular, "*That the good man only is free, and all bad men are slaves.*"¹ The Peripatetic, in pursuance of his principles, took up the argument against it. Upon which, Cato attacked him with great warmth, and in a louder and more vehement accent than usual, carried on a most spirited discourse to a considerable length. From the tenor of it, the whole company perceived he had determined to put an end to his being, to extricate himself from the hard conditions on which he was to hold it.

As he found a deep and melancholy silence the consequence of his discourse, he endeavoured to recover the spirits of his guests and to remove their suspicions, by talking of their present affairs, and expressing his fears both for his friends and partisans who were upon their voyage; and for those who had to make their way through dry deserts, and a barbarous country.

After the entertainment was over, he took his usual evening walk with his friends, and gave the officers of the guards such orders as the occasion required, and then retired to his chamber. The extraordinary ardour with which he embraced his son and his friends at this parting, recalled all their suspicions. *He lay down and began to read Plato's book on the immortality of the soul; but*

¹ This was not the sentiment of the Stoics only, but of Socrates.

before he had gone through with it, he looked up, and took notice that his sword was not at the head of his bed, where it used to hang; for his son had taken it away while he was at supper. He, therefore, called his servant and asked him, who had taken away his sword? As the servant made no answer, he returned to his book; and, after a while, without any appearance of haste or hurry, as if it was only by accident that he called for the sword, he ordered him to bring it. The servant still delayed to bring it, and he had patience till he had read out his book: but then he called his servants one by one, and in a louder tone demanded his sword. At last he struck one of them such a blow on the mouth that he hurt his own hand; and growing more angry, and raising his voice still higher, he cried, "I am betrayed and delivered naked to my enemy by my son and my servants." His son then ran in with his friends, and tenderly embracing him, had recourse to tears and entreaties. But Cato rose up, and with a stern and awful look, thus expressed himself:—"When and where did I show any signs of distraction, that nobody offers to dissuade me from any purpose that I may seem to be wrong in, but I must be hindered from pursuing my resolutions, thus disarmed? And you, young man, why do not you bind your father? bind his hands behind his back, that when Cæsar comes, he may find me utterly incapable of resistance? As to a sword, I have no need of it to despatch myself; for if I do but hold my breath a while, or dash my head against the wall, it will answer the purpose as well."

Upon his speaking in this manner, the young man went out of the chamber weeping, and with him all the rest, except Demetrius and Apollonides. To these philosophers he addressed himself in a milder tone.—"Are you also determined to make a man of my age live whether he will or no? And do you sit here in silence to watch me? Or do you bring any arguments to prove, that, now Cato has no hopes from any other quarters, it is no dishonour to beg mercy of his enemy? Why do not you begin a lecture to inform me better, that, dismissing the opinions in which you and I have lived, we may, through Cæsar's means, grow wiser, and so have a still greater obligation to him? As yet I have determined nothing with respect to myself; but I ought to have it in my power to put my purpose in execution, when I have formed it. And, indeed, I shall, in some measure, consult with you, for I shall proceed in my deliberations upon the principles of your philosophy. Be satisfied then, and go tell my son, if persuasion will not do, not to have recourse to constraint."

They made no answer, but went out; the tears falling from their eyes as they withdrew. The sword was sent in by a little boy. He drew, and examined it, and finding the point and the edge good, "Now," said he, "I am master of myself." Then laying down the sword, he took up the book again, and, it is said, he perused the whole twice.¹ After which, he slept so sound that he

¹ Yet this very dialogue condemns suicide in the strongest terms.

was heard by those who were in waiting without. About midnight he called for two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the physician, and Butas, whom he generally employed about public business. The latter he sent to the port, to see whether all the Romans had put off to sea, and bring him word.

In the meantime he ordered the physician to dress his hand, which was inflamed by the blow he had given his servant. This was some consolation to the whole house, for now they thought he had dropped his design against his life. Soon after this Butas returned, and informed him that they were all got off except Crassus, who had been detained by some business, but that he intended to embark very soon, though the wind blew hard, and the sea was tempestuous. Cato at this news, sighed in pity of his friends at sea, and sent Butas again, that if any of them happened to have put back, and should be in want of anything, he might acquaint him with it.

By this time the birds began to sing, and Cato fell again into a little slumber. Butas, at his return, told him, all was quiet in the harbour; upon which Cato ordered him to shut the door, having first stretched himself on the bed, as if he designed to sleep out the rest of the night. But after Butas was gone, he drew his sword, and stabbed himself under the breast. However, he could not strike hard enough on account of the inflammation in his hand, and therefore did not presently expire, but in the struggle with death fell from the bed, and threw down a little geometrical table that stood by.

The noise alarming the servants, they cried out, and his son and his friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels fallen out; at the same time he was alive and looked upon them. They were struck with inexpressible horror. The physician approached to examine the wound, and finding the bowels uninjured, he put them up, and began to sew up the wound. But as soon as Cato came a little to himself, he thrust away the physician, tore open the wound, plucked out his own bowels, and immediately expired.

In less time than one would think all the family could be informed of this sad event, the 300 were at the door; and a little after, all the people of Utica thronged about it, with one voice calling him "their benefactor, their saviour, the only free and unconquered man." This they did, though, at the same time, they had intelligence that Cæsar was approaching. Neither tear, nor the flattery of the conqueror, nor the factious disputes that prevailed among themselves, could divert them from doing honour to Cato. They adorned the body in a magnificent manner, and, after a splendid procession, buried it near the sea; where now stands his statue, with a sword in the right hand.

This great business over, they began to take measures for saving themselves and their city. Cæsar had been informed by persons who went to surrender themselves, that Cato remained in Utica, without any thoughts of flight; that he provided for the escape of

others, indeed, but that himself with his friends and his son, lived there without any appearance of fear or apprehension. Upon these circumstances he could form no probable conjecture. However, as it was a great point with him to get Cato into his hands, he advanced to the place with his army with all possible expedition. And when he had intelligence of Cato's death, he is reported to have uttered this short sentence, "*Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou couldest envy me the glory of saving thy life.*" Indeed, if Cato had deigned to owe his life to Cæsar, he would not so much have tarnished his own honour as have added to that of the conqueror. What might have been the event is uncertain; but, in all probability, Cæsar would have inclined to the merciful side.

Cato died at the age of forty-eight. His son suffered nothing from Cæsar; but, it is said, he was rather immoral, and that he was censured for his conduct with respect to women. In Cappadocia he lodged at the house of Marphadates, one of the royal family, who had a very handsome wife; and as he stayed there a longer time than decency could warrant, such jokes as these were passed upon him:—"Cato goes the morrow after the thirtieth day of the month."—"Porcius and Marphadates are two friends who have but one *soul*;" for the wife of Marphadates was named *Psyche*, which signifies *soul*.—"Cato is a great and generous man, and has a royal *soul*." Nevertheless, he wiped off all aspersions by his death; for, fighting at Philippi against Octavius Cæsar and Antony, in the cause of liberty, after his party gave way, he disdained to fly. Instead of slipping out of the action, he challenged the enemy to try their strength with Cato! he animated such of his troops as had stood their ground, and fell, acknowledged by his adversaries as a prodigy of valour.

Cato's daughter was much more admired for her virtues. She was not inferior to her father either in prudence or in fortitude; for being married to Brutus, who killed Cæsar, she was trusted with the secret of the conspiracy, and put a period to her life in a manner worthy of her birth and of her virtue, as we have related in the life of Brutus.

As for Statyllius, who promised to imitate the pattern of Cato, he would have despatched himself soon after him, but was prevented by the philosophers. He approved himself afterwards to Brutus a faithful and able officer, and fell in the battle of Philippi.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

WHEN Sylla had made himself master of Rome,¹ he endeavoured to bring Cæsar to repudiate Cornelia, daughter to Cinna, one of the late tyrants; and finding he could not effect it either by hopes or

¹ Some imagine that the beginning of this life is lost; but if they look back to

the introduction to the Life of Alexander that notion will vanish.

fears,¹ he confiscated her dowry. Indeed, Cæsar, as a relation to Marius, was naturally an enemy to Sylla. Old Marius had married Julia, Cæsar's aunt, and therefore young Marius, the son he had by her, was Cæsar's cousin-german. At first Sylla, amidst the vast number of proscriptions that engaged his attention, overlooked this enemy; but Cæsar, not content with escaping so, presented himself to the people as a candidate for the priesthood,² though he was not yet come to years of maturity. Sylla exerted his influence against him and he miscarried. The dictator afterwards thought of having him taken off, and when some said, there was no need to put such a boy to death, he answered, "their sagacity was small, if they did not in that boy see many Marius's."

This saying being reported to Cæsar, he concealed himself a long time, wandering up and down in the country of the Sabines. Amidst his movements from house to house he fell sick, and on that account was forced to be carried in a litter. The soldiers employed by Sylla to search those parts, and drag the proscribed persons from their retreats, one night fell in with him; but Cornelius, who commanded there, was prevailed on by a bribe of two talents to let him go.

He then hastened to sea, and sailed to Bithynia, where he sought protection of Nicomedes the king. His stay, however, with him was not long. He re-embarked, and was taken near the isle of Pharmacusa, by pirates, who were masters of that sea, and blocked up all the passages with a number of galleys and other vessels. They asked him only twenty talents for his ransom. He laughed at their demand, as the consequence of their not knowing him, and promised them fifty talents. To raise the money he despatched his people to different cities, and in the meantime remained with only one friend and two attendants among these Cilicians, who considered murder as a trifle. Cæsar, however, held them in great contempt, and used to send, whenever he went to sleep, and order them to keep silence. Thus he lived among them thirty-eight days, as if they had been his guards, rather than his keepers. Perfectly fearless and secure, he joined in their diversions, and took his exercises among them. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearsed them to these pirates; and when they expressed no admiration, he called them dunces and barbarians. Nay, he often threatened to crucify them. They were delighted with these freedoms, which they imputed to his frank and facetious vein. But as soon as the money was brought from Miletus, and he had recovered his liberty, he manned some vessels in the port of Miletus,³ in order

¹ Cæsar would not make such a sacrifice to the dictator as Piso had done, who, at his command, divorced his wife Anna. Pompey, too, for the sake of Sylla's alliance, repudiated Antistia.

² Cæsar had the priesthood before Sylla was dictator. In the seventeenth year of his age, he broke his engagement to Cornelia, though she was of a consular and opulent family, and married Cornelia, the

daughter of Cinna, by whose interest, and that of Marius, he was created *Flamen Martialis* or Priest of Jupiter. Sylla, when absolute master of Rome, insisted on his divorcing Cornelia, and, upon his refusal, deprived him of that office. SURROU. in Julio.

³ Tacitus reads *Nefos*, which was one of the Cycades, but does not mention his authority.

to attack these corsairs. He found them still lying at anchor by the island, took most of them, together with the money, and imprisoned them at Pergamus. After which, he applied to Junius who then commanded in Asia, because to him, as prætor, it belonged to punish them. Junius having an eye upon the money, which was a considerable sum, demurred about the matter; and Cæsar, perceiving his intention, returned to Pergamus, and crucified all the prisoners, as he had often threatened to do at Pharnacusa, when they took him to be in jest.

When the power of Sylla came to be upon the decline, Cæsar's friends pressed him to return to Rome. But first he went to Rhodes, to study under Apollonius, the son of Molo,¹ who taught rhetoric there with great reputation, and was a man of irreproachable manners. Cicero also was one of his scholars. Cæsar is said to have had happy talents from nature for a public speaker, and he did not want an ambition to cultivate them; so that undoubtedly he was the second orator in Rome, and he might have been the first, had he not rather chosen the pre-eminence in arms. Thus he never rose to that pitch of eloquence to which his power would have brought him, being engaged in those wars and political intrigues which at last gained the empire. Hence it was that afterwards in his *Anticato*, which he wrote in answer to a book of Cicero's, he desired his readers "Not to expect in the performance of a military man the style of a complete orator, who had bestowed all his time upon such studies."

Upon his return to Rome, he impeached Dolabella for misdemeanours in his government, and many cities of Greece supported the charge by their evidence. Dolabella was acquitted. Cæsar, however, in acknowledgment of the readiness Greece had shown to serve him, assisted her in her prosecution of Publius Antonius for corruption. The cause was brought before Marcus Lucullus, prætor of Macedonia; and Cæsar pleaded it in so powerful a manner, that the defendant was forced to appeal to the tribunes of the people; alleging, that he was not upon equal terms with the Greeks in Greece.

The eloquence he showed at Rome in defending persons impeached, gained him a considerable interest, and his engaging

¹ It should be *Apollonius Molo*, not Apollonius the son of Molo. According to Suetonius, Cæsar had studied under him at Rome before this adventure of the pirates. Thus far Dacier and Beauclerc; and other critics say the same. Yet Strabo (l. xiv. p. 635, 636, 661.) tells us, Molo and Apollonius were two different men. He affirms that they were both natives of Alabanda, a city of Caria; that they were both scholars of Menæchus the Alabandian; and that they both professed the same art at Rhodes, though Molo went thither later than Apollonius. Cicero likewise seems to distinguish them, calling the one Molo, and the other Apollonius the Alabandian, especially in his

first book *De Oratore*, where he introduces M. Antonius speaking of him thus: "For this one thing I always liked Apollonius the Alabandian; though he taught for money, he did not suffer any whom he thought incapable of making a figure as orators to lose their time and labour with him, but sent them home, exhorting them to apply themselves to that art for which they were, in his opinion, best qualified."

To solve this difficulty, we are willing to suppose with Beauclerc, that there were two Molos, contemporaries: for the testimonies of Suetonius (in Cæsar, c. 4), and of Quintilian Institut. l. xli. c. 6), that Cæsar and Cicero were pupils to Apollonius Molo, can never be overruled.

address and conversation carried the hearts of the people. For he had a condescension not be expected from so young a man. At the same time, the freedom of his table and the magnificence of his expense gradually increased his power, and brought him into the administration. Those who envied him, imagined that his resources would soon fail, and therefore, at first, made light of his popularity, considerable as it was. But when it was grown to such a height that it was scarce possible to demolish it, and had a plain tendency to the ruin of the constitution, they found out, when it was too late, that no beginnings of things, however small, are to be neglected; because continuance makes them great, and the very contempt they are held in gives them opportunity to gain that strength which cannot be resisted.

Cicero seems to be the first who suspected something formidable from the flattering calm of Cæsar's political conduct, and saw deep and dangerous designs under the smiles of his benignity. "I perceive," said the orator, "an inclination for tyranny in all he projects and executes; but on the other hand, when I see him adjusting his hair with so much exactness, and scratching his head with one finger, I can hardly think that such a man can conceive so vast and fatal a design as the destruction of the Roman commonwealth." This, however, was an observation made at a much later period than that we are upon.

The first proof he had of the affection of the people was when he obtained a tribuneship in the army before his competitor Caius Popilius. The second was more remarkable; it was on occasion of his pronouncing from the rostrum the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, in which he failed not to do justice to her virtue. At the same time he had the hardness to produce the images of Marius, which had not been seen before during Sylla's administration; Marius and all his adherents having been declared enemies to the state. Upon this some began to raise a clamour against Cæsar; but they were soon silenced by the acclamations and plaudits of the people, expressing their admiration of his courage in bringing the honours of Marius again to light, after so long a suppression, and raising them, as it were, from the shades below.

It had long been the custom in Rome for the aged women to have funeral panegyrics, but not the young. Cæsar first broke through it, by pronouncing one for his own wife, who died in her prime. This contributed to fix him in the affections of the people: they sympathised with him, and considered him as a man of great good nature, and one who had the social duties at heart.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out quæstor into Spain with Antistius Vetus the prætor, whom he honoured all his life after; and when he came to be prætor himself, he acknowledged the favour by taking Vetus's son for his quæstor. When that commission was expired, he took Pompeia to his third wife; having a

daughter by his first wife Cornelia, whom he afterwards married to Pompey the Great.

Many people, who observed his prodigious expense, thought he was purchasing a short transient honour very dear, but, in fact, he was gaining the greatest things he could aspire to, at a small price. He is said to have been 1,300 talents in debt before he got any public employment. When he had the superintendence of the Appian Road, he laid out a great deal of his own money; and when ædile, he not only exhibited 320 pairs of gladiators, but in the other diversions of the theatre, in the processions and public tables, he far outshone the most ambitious that had gone before him. These things attached the people to him so strongly that every one sought for new honours and employments, to recompense his generosity.

There were two factions in the state; that of Sylla, which was the strongest; and that of Marius, which was in a broken and low condition. Cæsar's study was to raise and revive the latter. In pursuance of which intention, when his exhibitions, as ædile, were in the highest reputation, he caused new images of Marius to be privately made, together with a representation of his victories adorned with trophies, and one night placed them in the Capitol. Next morning these figures were seen glistening with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship, and bearing inscriptions which declared them the achievements of Marius against the Cimbri. The spectators were astonished at the boldness of the man who erected them; nor was it difficult to know who he was. The report spread with the utmost rapidity, and the whole city assembled to see them. Some exclaimed, that Cæsar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing those honours which the laws had condemned to darkness and oblivion. This, they said, was done to make a trial of the people, whom he had prepared by his caresses, whether they would suffer themselves to be entirely caught by his venal benefactions, and let him play upon them and make what innovations he pleased. On the other hand, the partizans of Marius encouraging each other, ran to the Capitol in vast numbers, and made it echo with their plaudits. Some of them even wept for joy at the sight of Marius's countenance. They bestowed the highest encomiums upon Cæsar, and declared he was the only relation worthy of that great man.

The senate was assembled on the occasion, and Lutatius Catulus, a man of the greatest reputation in Rome, rose and accused Cæsar. In his speech against him was this memorable expression, "You no longer attack the commonwealth by mines, but by open battery." Cæsar, however, defended his cause so well that the senate gave it for him: and his admirers, still more elated, desired him to keep up a spirit of enterprise, for he might gain everything with the consent of the people, and easily become the first man in Rome.

Amidst these transactions, died Metellus, the principal pontiff. The office was solicited by Isauricus and Catulus, two of the most illustrious men in Rome, and of the greatest interest in the Senate

Nevertheless, Cæsar did not give place to them, but presented himself to the people as a candidate. The pretensions and prospects of the competitors seemed almost equal, and Catulus, more uneasy than the others under the uncertainty of success, on account of his superior dignity, sent privately to Cæsar, and offered him large sums, on condition that he would desist from his high pursuit. But he answered, "*He would rather borrow still larger sums to carry his election.*"

When the day of election came, Cæsar's mother attending him to the door, with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her and said, "*My dear mother, you will see me this day either chief pontiff or an exile.*" There never was anything more strongly contested; the suffrages, however, gave it for Cæsar. The senate, and others of the principal citizens, were greatly alarmed at his success; they apprehended that he would now push the people into all manner of licentiousness and misrule. Therefore, Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero much for sparing Cæsar, when Catiline's conspiracy gave him an opportunity to take him off. Catiline, whose intention was not so much to make alterations in the constitution, as entirely to subvert it, and throw all into confusion, upon some slight suspicions appearing against him, quitted Rome before the whole was unravelled; but he left behind him Lentulus and Cethegus to conduct the conspiracy within the city.

Whether Cæsar privately encouraged and supported them, is uncertain; what is universally agreed upon, is this: The guilt of those two conspirators clearly appearing, Cicero, as consul, took the sense of the senators as to the punishment that should be inflicted upon them; and they all gave it for death, till it came to Cæsar's turn, who, in a studied speech, represented, "That it seemed neither agreeable to justice, nor to the customs of their country, to put men of their birth and dignity to death without an open trial, except in case of extreme necessity. But that they should rather be kept in prison, in any of the cities of Italy that Cicero might pitch upon, till Catiline was subdued; and then the senate might take cognizance of the crimes of each conspirator in full peace, and at their leisure."

As there appeared something humane in this opinion, and it was powerfully enforced by the orator, those who gave their voices afterwards, and even many who had declared for the other side of the question, came into it. But Cato and Catulus carried it for death. Cato, in a severe speech against the opinion of Cæsar, scrupled not to declare his suspicions of him; and this, with other arguments, had so much weight that the two conspirators were delivered to the executioner. Nay, as Cæsar was going out of the senate house, several of the young men, who guarded Cicero's person, ran upon him with their drawn swords; but we are told that Curio covered him with his gown, and so carried him off; and that Cicero himself, when the young men looked at him for a nod of consent, refused it, either out of fear of the people, or because he thought the killing him unjust and unlawful. If this was true,

I know not why Cicero did not mention it in the history of his consulship. He was blamed, however, afterwards, for not availing himself of so good an opportunity as he then had, and for being influenced by his fears of the people, who were indeed strongly attached to Cæsar: for, a few days after, when Cæsar entered the senate, and endeavoured to clear himself of the suspicions he lay under, his defence was received with indignation and loud reproaches; and as they sat longer than usual, the people beset the house, and with violent outcries demanded Cæsar, absolutely insisting on his being dismissed.

Cato, therefore, fearing an insurrection of the indigent populace, who were foremost in all seditions, and who had fixed their hopes upon Cæsar, persuaded the senate to order a distribution of bread-corn among them every month, which added five million five hundred thousand *drachmas* to the yearly expense of the state.¹ This expedient certainly obviated the present danger, by seasonably reducing the power of Cæsar, who was now prætor elect, and more formidable on that account.

Cæsar's prætorship was not productive of any trouble to the commonwealth, but that year there happened a disagreeable event in his own family. There was a young patrician, named Publius Clodius, of great fortune and distinguished eloquence, but at the same time one of the foremost among the vicious and the profligate. This man entertained a passion for Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, nor did she discountenance it. But the women's apartment was so narrowly observed, and all the steps of Pompeia so much attended to by Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, who was a woman of great virtue and prudence, that it was difficult and hazardous for them to have an interview.

Among the goddesses the Romans worship, there is one they call *Bona Dea*, the good goddess, as the Greeks have one they call *Gynæcea*, the patroness of the women. The Phrygians claim her as the mother of their king Midas; the Romans say, she was a Dryad, and wife of Faunus; and the Greeks assure us, she is that mother of Bacchus, whose name is not to be uttered. For this reason, the women, when they keep her festival, cover their tents with vine branches; and, according to the fable, a sacred dragon lies at the feet of the goddess. No man is allowed to be present, nor even to be in the house, at the celebration of her orgies. Many of the ceremonies the women then perform by themselves are said to be like those in the feasts of Orpheus.

When the anniversary of the festival comes, the consul or prætor (for it is at the house of one of them it is kept) goes out, and not a male is left in it. The wife, now having the house to herself, decorates it in a proper manner; the mysteries are performed in the night; and the whole is spent in music and play. Pompeia this year was the directress of the feast; Clodius, who was yet a heedless youth, thought he might pass in women's apparel undiscovered,

¹ But this distribution did not continue long.

and having taken the garb and instruments of a female musician, perfectly resembled one. He found the door open, and was safely introduced by a maid-servant who knew the affair. She ran before to tell Pompeia; and as she stayed a considerable time, Clodius durst not remain where she left him, but wandering about the great house, endeavoured to avoid the lights. At last, Aurelia's woman fell in with him, and supposing she spoke to a woman, challenged him to play. Upon his refusing it, she drew him into the midst of the room, and asked him who he was, and whence he came? He said he waited for Abra, Pompeia's maid, for that was her name. His voice immediately detected him. Aurelia's woman ran up to the lights and the company, crying out she had found a man in the house. The thing struck them all with terror and astonishment. Aurelia put a stop to the ceremonies, and covered up the symbols of their mysterious worship. She ordered the doors to be made fast, and with lighted torches hunted up and down for the man. At length Clodius was found lurking in the chamber of the maid-servant who had introduced him. The women knew him, and turned him out of the house; after which they went home immediately, though it was yet night, and informed their husbands of what had happened.

Next morning the report of the sacrilegious attempt spread through all Rome, and nothing was talked of but that Clodius ought to make satisfaction with his life to the family he had offended, as well as to the city and to the gods. One of the tribunes impeached him of impiety; and the principal senators strengthened the charge, by accusing him, to his face, of many villainous debaucheries, and among the rest, of incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus. On the other hand, the people exerted themselves with equal vigour in his defence, and the great influence the fear of them had upon his judges was of much service to his cause. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia; yet, when called as an evidence on the trial, he declared he knew nothing of what was alleged against Clodius. As this declaration appeared somewhat strange, the accuser demanded, why, if that was the case, he had divorced his wife? "*Because,*" said he, "*I would have the chastity of my wife clear even of suspicion.*" Some say Cæsar's evidence was according to his conscience; others, that he gave it to oblige the people, who were set upon saving Clodius. Be that as it might, Clodius came off clear; most of the judges having confounded the letters upon the tablets, that they might neither expose themselves to the resentment of the plebeians, if they condemned him, nor lose their credit with the patricians, if they acquitted him.

The government of Spain was allotted Cæsar after his prætorship.¹ But his circumstances were so indifferent, and his creditors so clamorous and troublesome when he was preparing for his departure, that he was forced to apply to Crassus, the richest man

¹ It was the government of the farther Spain only that fell to his lot. The

province comprehended Lusitania and Bætica; that is, Portugal and Andalusia.

in Rome, who stood in need of Cæsar's warmth and vigour to keep up the balance against Pompey. Crassus, therefore, took upon him to answer the most inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for 830 talents ; which procured him liberty to set out for his province.

It is said, that when he came to a little town, in passing the Alps, his friends by way of mirth took occasion to say, "Can there here be any disputes for offices, any contentions for precedence, or such envy and ambition as we see among the great ?" To which Cæsar answered, with great seriousness, "I assure you, I had rather be the first man here, than the second man in Rome."

In like manner we are told, that when he was in Spain, he bestowed some leisure hours on reading part of the history of Alexander, and was so much affected with it, that he sat pensive a long time, and at last burst out into tears. As his friends were wondering what might be the reason, he said, "*Do you think, I have not sufficient cause for concern, when Alexander at my age reigned over so many conquered countries, and I have not one glorious achievement to boast ?*"

From this principle it was, that immediately upon his arrival in Spain he applied to business with great diligence, and having added ten new-raised cohorts to the twenty he received there, he marched against the Callæcians and Lusitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the ocean, reducing nations by the way that had not felt the Roman yoke. His conduct in peace was not inferior to that in the war ; *he restored harmony among the cities, and removed the occasions of quarrel between debtors and creditors. For he ordered that the creditor should have two-thirds of the debtor's income, and the debtor the remaining third, till the whole was paid.* By these means he left the province with great reputation, though he had filled his own coffers and enriched his soldiers with booty, who, upon one of his victories, saluted him *Imperator*.

At his return he found himself under a troublesome dilemma : those that solicit a triumph being obliged to remain without the walls, and such as sue for the consulship, to make their personal appearance in Rome. As these were things that could not reconcile, and his arrival happened at the time of the election of consuls, he applied to the senate for permission to stand candidate, though absent, and offer his service by his friends. Cato strongly opposed his request, insisting on the prohibition by law ; and when he saw numbers influenced by Cæsar, he attempted to prevent his success by gaining time ; with which view he spun out the debate till it was too late to conclude upon anything that day. Cæsar then determined to give up the triumph, and solicit the consulship.

As soon as he had entered the city he went to work upon an expedient which deceived all the world except Cato. It was the reconciling of Pompey and Crassus, two of the most powerful men in Rome. By making them friends, Cæsar secured the interest of both to himself, and while he seemed to be only doing an office of humanity, he was undermining the constitution. *For it was not, what most people imagine, the disagreement between Cæsar and*

Pompey that produced the civil wars, but rather their union : they first combined to ruin the authority of the senate, and when that was effected, they parted to pursue each his own designs. Cato, who often prophesied what would be the consequence, was then looked upon as a troublesome and overbusy man ; afterwards he was esteemed a wise, though not a fortunate counsellor.

Meantime Cæsar walked to the place of election between Crassus and Pompey ; and, under the auspices of their friendship, was declared consul, with distinguished honour, having Calpurnius Bibulus given him for his colleague. He had no sooner entered upon his office than he proposed laws not so suitable to a consul as to a seditious tribune ; I mean the bills for a division of lands and a distribution of corn, which were entirely calculated to please the plebeians. As the virtuous and patriotic part of the senate opposed them, he was furnished with the pretext he had long wanted : he protested with great warmth, " That they threw him into the arms of the people against his will, and that the rigorous and disgraceful opposition of the senate, laid him under the disagreeable necessity of seeking protection from the commons." Accordingly he immediately applied to them.

Crassus planted himself on one side of him, and Pompey on the other. He demanded of them aloud, " Whether they approved his laws ? " and, as they answered in the affirmative, he desired their assistance against those who threatened to oppose them with the sword. They declared they would assist him ; and Pompey added, " Against those who come with the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler." This expression gave the patricians great pain : it appeared not only unworthy of his character, the respect the senate had for him, and the reverence due to them, but even desperate and frantic. The people, however, were pleased with it.

Cæsar was willing to avail himself still further of Pompey's interest. His daughter Julia was betrothed to Servilius Cæpio, but, notwithstanding that engagement, he gave her to Pompey ; and told Servilius he should have Pompey's daughter, whose hand was not properly at liberty, for she was promised to Faustus the son of Sylla.—Soon after this, Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, and procured the consulship for Piso for the year ensuing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly against these proceedings, and called both gods and men to witness, *how insupportable it was, that the first dignities of the state should be prostituted by marriages, and that this traffic of women should gain them what governments and forces they pleased.*

As for Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, when he found his opposition to their new laws entirely unsuccessful, and that his life, as well as Cato's, was often endangered in the public assemblies, he shut himself up in his own house during the remainder of the year.

Immediately after this marriage, Pompey filled the *forum* with armed men, and got the laws enacted which Cæsar had proposed merely to ingratiate himself with the people. At the same time the government of Gaul, both on this and the other side the Alps,

was decreed to Cæsar for five years ; to which was added Illyricum, with four legions. As Cato spoke against these regulations, Cæsar ordered him to be taken into custody, imagining he would appeal to the tribunes. But when he saw him going to prison without speaking one word, and observed that it not only gave the nobility great uneasiness, but that the people, out of reverence for Cato's virtue, followed him in melancholy silence, he whispered one of the tribunes to take him out of the *licitors'* hands.

Very few of the body of senators followed Cæsar on this occasion to the house. The greatest part, offended at such acts of tyranny, had withdrawn. Considius, one of the oldest senators that attended, taking occasion to observe, "That it was the soldiers and naked swords that kept the rest from assembling," Cæsar said, "Why does not fear keep you at home too?" Considius replied, "Old age is my defence ; the small remains of my life deserve not much care or precaution."

The most disgraceful step, however, that Cæsar took in his whole consulship, was the getting Clodius elected tribune of the people ; the same who had attempted to dishonour his bed, and had profaned the mysterious rites of the good Goddess. He pitched upon him to ruin Cicero ; nor would he set out for his government before he had embroiled them, and procured Cicero's banishment. For history informs us, that *all these transactions preceded his wars in Gaul. The wars he conducted there, and the many glorious campaigns in which he reduced that country, represent him as another man : we begin, as it were, with a new life, and have to follow him in a quite different track. As a warrior and a general, we behold him not in the least inferior to the greatest and most admired commanders the world ever produced.* For whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipios, and Metelli, with the generals of his own time, or those who flourished a little before him, with Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or with Pompey himself, whose fame in every military excellence reached the skies, Cæsar's achievements bear away the palm. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the scene of action, another in the extent of the countries he subdued ; this, in the number and strength of the enemies he overcame, that, in the savage manners and treacherous disposition of the people he humanised ; one in mildness and clemency to his prisoners, another, in bounty and munificence to his troops ; and all, in the number of battles that he won, and enemies that he killed. For in less than ten years' war in Gaul, he took eight hundred cities by assault, conquered three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three millions of men, one million of whom he cut in pieces, and made another million prisoners.

Such, moreover, was the affection of his soldiers, and their attachment to his person, that they who under other commanders were nothing above the common rate of men, became invincible where Cæsar's glory was concerned, and met the most dreadful dangers with a courage that nothing could resist. To give three or four instances .

Acilius, in a sea-fight near Marseilles, after he had boarded one of the enemy's ships, had his right hand cut off with a sword, yet he still held his buckler in his left, and pushed it in the enemy's face, till he defeated them, and took the vessel.

Cassius Scæva, in the battle of Dyrrachium, after he had an eye shot out with an arrow, his shoulder wounded with one javelin, his thigh run through with another, and had received 130 darts upon his shield,¹ called out to the enemy, as if he would surrender himself. Upon this, two of them came up to him, and he gave one of them such a stroke upon the shoulder with his sword, that the arm dropped off; the other he wounded in the face, and made him retire. His comrades then came up to his assistance, and he saved his life.

In Britain, some of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep morass, and were there attacked by the enemy, when a private soldier, in the sight of Cæsar, threw himself into the midst of the assailants, and, after prodigious exertions of valour, beat off the barbarians, and rescued the men. After which, the soldier, with much difficulty, partly by swimming partly by wading, passed the morass, but in the passage lost his shield. Cæsar and those about him, astonished at the action, ran to meet him with acclamations of joy; but the soldier, in great distress, threw himself at Cæsar's feet, and, with tears in his eyes, begged pardon for the loss of his shield.

In Africa, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, on board of which was Granius Petronius, lately appointed quæstor, put the rest to the sword, but told the quæstor, "He gave him his life." Petronius answered, "It is not the custom of Cæsar's soldiers to take, but to give quarter," and immediately plunged his sword in his breast.

This courage, and this great ambition, were cultivated and cherished, in the first place, by the generous manner in which Cæsar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them: for his whole conduct showed that he did not accumulate riches in the course of his wars, to minister to luxury, or to serve any pleasures of his own; but that he laid them up in a common bank, as prizes to be obtained by distinguished valour, and that he considered himself no farther rich than as he was in a condition to do justice to the merit of his soldiers. Another thing that contributed to make them invincible was their seeing Cæsar always take his share in danger, and never desire any exemption from labour and fatigue.

As for his exposing his person to danger, they were not surprised at it, because they knew his passion for glory, but they were astonished at his patience under toil, so far in all appearance above his bodily powers. For he was of a slender make, fair, of a delicate constitution, and subject to violent headaches and epileptic fits. He

¹ Cæsar (Bell. Civ. l. iii.) says, this brave soldier received 230 darts upon his shield, and adds, that he rewarded his bravery with 200,000 sesterces, an enormous

summed him from the eighth rank to the first. He likewise ordered the soldiers of that cohort double pay, beside other military rewards.

had the first attack of the falling sickness at Corduba. He did not, however, make these disorders a pretence for indulging himself. On the contrary, he sought in war a remedy for his infirmities, endeavouring to strengthen his constitution by long marches, by simple diet, by seldom coming under covert. Thus he contended with his distemper, and fortified himself against its attacks.

When he slept, it was commonly upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, that rest might be no hindrance to business. In the day-time he visited the castles, cities, and fortified camps, with a servant at his side, whom he employed, on such occasions, to write for him, and with a soldier behind, who carried his sword. By these means he travelled so fast, and with so little interruption, as to reach the Rhone in eight days after his first setting out for those parts from Rome.

He was a good horseman in his early years, and brought that exercise to such perfection by practice, that he could sit a horse at full speed with his hands behind him. In this expedition he also accustomed himself to dictate letters as he rode on horseback, and found sufficient employment for two secretaries at once, or, according to Oppius, for more. It is also said, that Cæsar was the first who contrived to communicate his thoughts by letter to his friends who were in the same city with him, when any urgent affair required it, and the multitude of business or great extent of the city did not admit of an interview.

Of his indifference with respect to diet they give us this remarkable proof: Happening to sup with Valerius Leo, a friend of his at Milan, there was sweet ointment poured upon the asparagus, instead of oil. Cæsar ate of it freely, notwithstanding, and afterwards rebuked his friends for expressing their dislike of it. "It was enough," said he, "to forbear eating, if it was disagreeable to you. He who finds fault with any rusticity, is himself a rustic."

One day as he was upon an excursion, a violent storm forced him to seek shelter in a poor man's hut, where there was only one room, and that scarce big enough for a man to sleep in. Turning, therefore, to his friends, he said, "Honours for the great, and necessities for the infirm," and immediately gave up the room to Oppius, while himself and the rest of the company slept under a shed at the door.

His first expedition in Gaul was against the Helvetians and the Tigurini; who, after having burned twelve of their own towns and 400 villages, put themselves under march, in order to penetrate into Italy, through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutones would have done before them. Nor were these new adventurers inferior to the other in courage; and in numbers they were equal; being in all 300,000, of which 190,000 were fighting men. Cæsar sent his lieutenant, Labienus, against the Tigurini, who routed them near the river Arar.¹ But the Helve-

¹ Cæsar says himself, that he left Labienus to guard the works he had raised from the lake of Geneva to mount Jura, and that he marched in person, at

the head of three legions, to attack the Tigurini in their passage over the Arar, now the Saône, and killed great numbers of them.

tians suddenly attacked Cæsar as he was on the march to a confederate town.¹ He gained, however, a strong post for his troops, notwithstanding the surprise; and when he had drawn them up, his horse was brought him. Upon which he said, "When I have won the battle I shall want my horse for the pursuit; at present, let us march as we are against the enemy." Accordingly he charged them with great vigour on foot.²

It cost him a long and severe conflict to drive their army out of the field; but he found the greatest difficulty when he came to their rampart of carriages; for not only the men made a most obstinate stand there, but the very women and children fought till they were cut in pieces; insomuch that the battle did not end before midnight.

To this great action he added a still greater. He collected the barbarians who had escaped out of the battle, to the number of 100,000, and upwards, and obliged them to resettle in the country they had relinquished, and to rebuild the cities they had burned. This he did, in fear that if the country were left without inhabitants, the Germans would pass the Rhine, and seize it.

His second war was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans,³ though he had before honoured their king Ariovistus with the title of an ally of Rome. They proved insupportable neighbours to those he had subdued, and it was easy to see, that instead of being satisfied with their present acquisitions, if opportunity offered, they would extend their conquests over all Gaul. He found, however, his officers, particularly those of the young nobility, afraid of this expedition; for they had entered into Cæsar's service only in the hopes of living luxuriously and making their fortunes. He therefore called them together, and told them, before the whole army, "That they were at liberty to retire, and needed not hazard their persons against their inclinations, since they were so unmanly and spiritless. For his part, he would march with the tenth legion only against these barbarians: for they were neither better men than the Cimbrians, nor was he a worse general than Marius." Upon this, the tenth legion deputed some of their corps to thank him. The other legions laid the whole blame upon their officers, and all followed him with great spirit and alacrity. After a march of several days, they encamped within 200 furlongs of the enemy.

Cæsar's arrival broke the confidence of Ariovistus. Instead of expecting that the Romans would come and attack him, he had

¹ Bibracte, now Autun.

² He sent back his horse, and the rest followed his example. This he did to prevent all hopes of a retreat, as well as to show his troops that he would take his share in all the danger. Vide Bell. Gall. lib. i.

³ The Ædui implored his protection against Ariovistus, king of the Germans, who, taking a vantage of the differences

which had long subsisted between them and the Arverni, had joined the latter, made himself master of great part of the country of the Sequani, and obliged the Ædui to give him their children as hostages. The Ædui were the people of Autun; the Arverni of Auvergne; and the Sequani of Franche Comté. Vide Bell. Gall. lib. i.

supposed they would not dare to stand the Germans when they went in quest of them. He was much surprised, therefore, at this bold attempt of Cæsar, and, what was worse, he saw his own troops were disheartened. *They were dispirited still more by the prophecies of their matrons, who had the care of divining, and used to do it by the eddies of rivers, the windings, the murmurs, or other noise made by the stream.* On this occasion, they charged the army not to give battle before the new moon appeared.

Cæsar having got information of these matters, and seeing the Germans lie close in their camp, thought it better to engage them while thus dejected, than to sit still and wait their time. For this reason he attacked their entrenchments and the hills upon which they were posted, which provoked them to such a degree that they descended in great fury to the plain. They fought, and were entirely routed. Cæsar pursued them to the Rhine, which was 300 furlongs from the field of battle, covering all the way with dead bodies and spoils. Ariovistus reached the river in time enough to get over with a few troops. The number of killed is said to have amounted to eighty thousand.

After he had thus terminated the war, he left his army in winter quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repaired to Gaul, on this side the Po, which was part of his province, in order to have an eye upon the transactions in Rome. *For the river Rubicon parts the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul.* During his stay there he carried on a variety of state intrigues. Great numbers came from Rome to pay their respects to him, and he sent them all away satisfied; some laden with presents, and others happy in hope. In the same manner *throughout all his wars, without Pompey's observing it, he was conquering his enemies by the arms of the Roman citizens, and gaining the citizens, by the money of his enemies.*

As soon as he had intelligence that the Belgæ, who were the most powerful people in Gaul, and whose territories made up a third part of the whole country, had revolted and assembled a great army, he marched to that quarter with incredible expedition. He found them ravaging the lands of those Gauls who were allies of Rome, defeating the main body, which made but a feeble resistance, and killed such numbers, that lakes and rivers were filled with the dead, and bridges were formed of their bodies. Such of the insurgents as dwelt upon the sea coast, surrendered without opposition.

From thence he led his army against the Nervii,¹ who live among thick woods. After they had secured their families and most valuable goods, in the best manner they could, in the heart of a large forest, at a great distance from the enemy, they marched, to the number of 60,000, and fell upon Cæsar, as he was fortifying his camp, and had not the least notion of such an attack.² They first

¹ Their country is now called Hainaut and Cambresis.

² As this attack was unexpected, Cæsar had, in a manner, everything to do at the

routed his cavalry, and then surrounded the twelfth and seventh legions, and killed all the officers. Had not Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of his own men, forced his way through the combatants before him, and rushed upon the barbarians; or had not the tenth legion, seeing his danger, ran from the heights where they were posted, and mowed down the enemy's ranks, in all probability not one Roman would have survived the battle. But though, encouraged by this bold act of Cæsar, they fought with a spirit above their strength, they were not able to make the Nervii turn their backs. Those brave men maintained their ground, and were hewed to pieces upon the spot. It is said that out of 60,000 not above 500 were saved, and out of 400 Nervian senators not above three.

Upon the news of this great victory, the senate of Rome decreed that sacrifices should be offered, and all manner of festivities kept up, for fifteen days together, which was a longer term of rejoicing than had ever been known before. Indeed, the danger appeared very great, on account of so many nations rising at once; and as Cæsar was the man who surmounted it, the affection the people had for him made the rejoicing more brilliant. After he had settled the affairs of Gaul, on the other side the Alps, he crossed them again, and wintered near the Po, in order to maintain his interest in Rome; where the candidates for the great offices of state were supplied with money out of his funds to corrupt the people, and after they had carried their election, did everything to extend his power. Nay, the greatest and most illustrious personages went to pay their court to him at Lucca, among whom were Pompey, Crassus, Appius, governor of Sardinia, and Nepos, pro-consul in Spain. So that there were 120 lictors attending their masters, and above 200 senators honoured him with their assiduities. After they had fixed upon a plan of business, they parted. Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls the year ensuing, and, to get Cæsar's government prolonged for five years more, with supplies out of the treasury for his occasions. The last particular appeared extremely absurd to all men of sense. They who received so much of Cæsar's money, persuaded the senate to give him money, as if he was in want of it; or rather, they insisted it should be done, and every honest man

same instant. The banner was to be erected, the charge sounded, the soldiers at a distance recalled, the army drawn up, and the signal given. In this surprise he ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and having drawn them up in the best manner he could, caused the signal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous resistance; but as the enemy seemed determined either to conquer or die, the success was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and the tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebatæ into a neighbouring river, and made a great slaughter of them. In an-

other place the eighth and eleventh legions repulsed the Vermandui, and drove them before them. But in the right wing the seventh and twelfth legions suffered extremely. They were entirely surrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, and most of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of the private men, put himself at the head of his broken wing, and being joined by the two legions which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the Nervii, already fatigued, with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havoc of them.

sighed inwardly while he suffered the decree to pass. Cato, indeed, was absent, having been sent with a commission to Cyprus on purpose that he might be out of the way. But Favonius, who trod in Cato's steps, vigorously opposed those measures; and when he found that his opposition availed nothing, he left the house, and applied to the people, exclaiming against such pernicious counsels. No one, however, attended to him; *some being overawed by Pompey and Crassus, and others influenced by regard for Cæsar, in whose smile alone they lived and all their hopes flourished.*

Cæsar, at his return to his army in Gaul, found another furious war lighted up in the country; the Usipetes and the Teucteri,¹ two great German nations, having crossed the Rhine to make conquests. The account of the affair with them we shall take from Cæsar's own Commentaries. These barbarians sent deputies to him to propose a suspension of arms, which was granted them. Nevertheless they attacked him as he was making an excursion. With only 800 horse, however, who were not prepared for an engagement, he beat their cavalry, which consisted of five thousand. Next day they sent other deputies to apologise for what had happened, but without any other intention than that of deceiving him again. These agents of theirs he detained, and marched immediately against them; thinking it absurd to stand upon honour with such perfidious men, who had not scrupled to violate the truce. Yet Canisius writes, that when the senate were voting a public thanksgiving and procession on account of the victory, Cato proposed that Cæsar should be delivered up to the barbarians, to expiate that breach of faith, and make the divine vengeance fall upon its author rather than upon Rome.

Of the barbarians that had passed the Rhine, there were 400,000 killed. The few who escaped, repassed the river, and were sheltered by a people of Germany called Sicambri. *Cæsar laid hold on this pretence against that people, but his true motive was an avidity of fame, to be the first Roman that ever crossed the Rhine in a hostile manner.* In pursuance of his design, he threw a bridge over it, though it was remarkably wide in that place, and at the same time so rough and rapid, that it carried down with it trunks of trees, and other timber, which much shocked and weakened the pillars of his bridge. But he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of the river above the bridge, both to resist the impression of such bodies, and to break the force of the torrent. By these means he exhibited a spectacle astonishing to thought, so immense

¹ The people of the Mark and of Westphalia, and those of Munster and Cleve.

This war happened under the consulship of Crassus and Pompey, which was in the year of Rome 693. But there were several intermediate transactions of great importance, which Plutarch has omitted, viz. The reduction of the Advaici by Cæsar; the seven other nations by P. Crassus, the son of the triumvir; offers

of submission from several nations beyond the Rhine; the attempt upon Calix in his winter quarters at Octodurus, and his brave defence and victory; the severe chastisement of the Veneti, who had revolted; and the complete reduction of Aquitaine. These particulars are contained in part of the second and the whole third book of the War in Gaul.

a bridge finished in ten days. His army passed over it without opposition, the Suevi and the Sicambri, the most warlike nations in Germany, having retired into the heart of their forests, and concealed themselves in cavities overhung with wood. He laid waste the enemy's country with fire, and confirmed the better disposed Germans in the interest of Rome;¹ after which he returned into Gaul, having spent no more than eighteen days in Germany.

But his expedition into Britain discovered the most daring spirit of enterprise. For he was the first who entered the western ocean with a fleet, and embarking his troops on the Atlantic, carried war into an island whose very existence was doubted. Some writers had represented it so incredibly large that others contested its being, and considered both the name and the thing as a fiction. Yet Cæsar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman empire beyond the bounds of the habitable world. He sailed thither twice from the opposite coast in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons suffered more than the Romans gained; for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were so poor, and lived in so much wretchedness.² He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wished; he only received hostages of the king, and appointed the tribute the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

There he received letters, which were going to be sent over to him, and by which his friends in Rome informed him, that his daughter, the wife of Pompey, had lately died in childbed. This was a great affliction both to Pompey and Cæsar. Their friends, too, were very sensibly concerned to see that alliance dissolved which kept up the peace and harmony of the state, otherwise in a very unsettled condition. For the child survived the mother only a few days. The people took the body of Julia, and carried it, notwithstanding the prohibition of the tribunes, to the *Campus Martius*, where it was interred.

As Cæsar's army was now very large,³ he was forced to divide it for the convenience of winter-quarters; after which he took the road to Italy, according to custom. But he had not been long gone, before the Gauls rising again, traversed the country with considerable armies, fell upon the Roman quarters with great fury, and insulted their entrenchments. The most numerous and the strongest body of the insurgents was that under Ambiorix, who attacked Cotta and Titurius in their camp, and cut them off with their whole party. After which, he went and besieged the legion under the command of Q. Cicero, with 60,000 men; and though

¹ The Uklî, the people of Cologne.

² It does not appear that there was much corn in Britain in Cæsar's time; for the inhabitants, he says, lived chiefly on milk and flesh. *Lacte et carne vivunt.*

³ This army consisted of eight legions; and as there was almost a famine in the country, the consequence of excessive drought, Cæsar was obliged to separate

his troops for their better subsistence. He was therefore under the necessity of fixing the quarters at such a distance, which would otherwise have been impossible. He tells us (lib. v.) that all the legions, except one, which was in a quiet country, were posted within the compass of 100 miles.

the spirit of those brave Romans made a resistance above their strength, they were very near being taken, for they were all wounded.

Cæsar, who was at a great distance, at last getting intelligence of their danger, returned with all expedition ; and, having collected a body of men, which did not exceed 7,000, hastened to the relief of Cicero. The Gauls, who were not ignorant of his motions, raised the siege, and went to meet him ; for they despised the smallness of his force, and were confident of victory. Cæsar, to deceive them, made a feint as if he fled, till he came to a place convenient for a small army to engage a great one, and there he fortified his camp. He gave his men strict orders not to fight, but to throw up a strong rampart, and to barricade their gates in the securest manner ; contriving by all these manœuvres to increase the enemy's contempt of him. It succeeded as he wished ; the Gauls came up with great insolence and disorder to attack his trenches. Then Cæsar, making a sudden sally, defeated and destroyed the greatest part of them. This success laid the spirit of revolt in those parts : and for farther security he remained all the winter in Gaul, visiting all the quarters, and keeping a sharp eye upon every motion towards war. Besides, he received a reinforcement of three legions in the room of those he had lost ; two of which were lent him by Pompey, and one lately raised in Cisalpine Gaul.

After this,¹ the seeds of hostilities, which had long before been privately scattered in the more distant parts of the country, by the chiefs of the more warlike nations, shot up into one of the greatest and most dangerous wars that was ever seen in Gaul ; whether we consider the number of troops and store of arms, the treasures amassed for the war, or the strength of the towns and fastnesses they occupied. Besides, it was then the most severe season of the year ; the rivers were covered with ice, the forests with snow, and the fields overflowed in such a manner that they looked like so many ponds ; the roads lay concealed in snow ; or in floods disembogued by the lakes and rivers. So that it seemed impossible for Cæsar to march, or to pursue any other operations against them.

Many nations had entered into the league ; the principal of which were the Arverni,² and Carnutes.³ The chief direction of the war was given to Vercingetorix, *whose father the Gauls had put to death, for attempting at monarchy.* Vercingetorix, having divided his forces into several parts, and given them in charge to his lieutenants, had the country at command as far as the Arar. His intention was to raise all Gaul against Cæsar, now when his enemies were rising against him at Rome. But had he stayed a little longer till Cæsar was actually engaged in the civil war, the terrors of the

¹ Plutarch passes over the whole sixth book of Cæsar's Commentaries, as he had done the third. Many considerable events happened between the victory last mentioned, and the affair with Vercingetorix ; such as the defeat of the Treviri.

Cæsar's second passage over the Rhine, and the pursuit of Ambiorix.

² The people of Auvergne, particularly those of Clermont and St. Flour.

³ The people of Chartres and Orleans.

Gauls would not have been less dreadful to Italy now, than those of the Cimbri were formerly.

Cæsar, who knew perfectly how to avail himself of every advantage in war, particularly of time, was no sooner informed of this great defection, than he set out to chastise its authors, and by the swiftness of his march, in spite of all the difficulties of a severe winter, he showed the barbarians that his troops could neither be conquered nor resisted. For where a courier could scarce have been supposed to come in many days, Cæsar was seen with his whole army, ravaging the country, destroying the castle, storming the cities, and receiving the submission of such as repented. Thus he went on, till the Edui¹ also revolted, who had styled themselves brothers to the Romans, and had been treated with particular regard. Their joining the insurgents spread uneasiness and dismay throughout Cæsar's army. He, therefore, decamped in all haste, and traversed the country of the Lingones,² in order to come into that of the Sequani,³ who were fast friends, and nearer to Italy than the rest of the Gauls.

The enemy followed him thither in prodigious numbers, and surrounded him. Cæsar, without being in the least disconcerted, sustained the conflict, and after a long and bloody action, in which the Germans were particularly serviceable to him, gave them a total defeat. But he seems to have received some check at first, for the Arverni still show a sword suspended in one of their temples, which they declare was taken from Cæsar. His friends pointed it out to him afterwards, but he only laughed; and when they were for having it taken down, he would not suffer it, because he considered it as a thing consecrated to the gods.

Most of those who escaped out of the battle, retired into Alesia⁴ with their king. Cæsar immediately invested the town, though it appeared impregnable, as well on account of the height of the walls as the number of troops there was to defend it. During the siege he found himself exposed to a danger from without, which makes imagination giddy to think on. All the bravest men in Gaul assembled from every quarter, and came armed to the relief of the place, to the number of 300,000; and there were not less than 70,000 combatants within the walls. Thus shut up between two armies, he was forced to draw two lines of circumvallation, the interior one against the town, and that without against the troops that came to its succour; for, could the two armies have joined, he had been absolutely lost. This dangerous action at Alesia contributed to Cæsar's renown on many accounts. Indeed, he exerted a more adventurous courage and greater generalship than on any other occasion. But what seems very astonishing, is, that he could engage and conquer so many myriads without, and keep the

¹ The people of Autun, Lyons, Macon, Chalons upon Saône, and Nevers.

² The district of Langres.

³ The district of Besançon.

⁴ Cæsar calls it Alexia now Allix.

action a secret to the troops in the town.¹ It is still more wonderful that the Romans, who were left before the walls, should not know it, till the victory was announced by the cries of the men in Alesia and the lamentations of the women, who saw the Romans on each side of the town bringing to their camp a number of shields adorned with gold and silver, helmets stained with blood, drinking vessels, and tents of the Gaulish fashion. Thus did this vast multitude vanish and disappear like a phantom, or a dream, the greatest part being killed on the spot.

The besieged, after having given both themselves and Cæsar much trouble, at last surrendered. *Their general, Vercingetorix, armed himself and equipped his horse in the most magnificent manner, and then sallied out at the gate. After he had taken some circuits about Cæsar as he sat upon the tribunal, he dismounted, put off his armour, and placed himself at Cæsar's feet, where he remained in profound silence, till Cæsar ordered a guard to take him away, and keep him for his triumph.*

Cæsar had been some time resolved to ruin Pompey, and Pompey to destroy Cæsar. For Crassus, who alone could have taken up the conqueror, being killed in the Parthian war, there remained nothing for Cæsar to do, to make himself the greatest of mankind, but to annihilate him that was so, nor for Pompey to prevent it, but to take off the man he feared. It is true, it was no long time that Pompey had entertained any fear of him; he had rather looked upon him with contempt, imagining he could as easily pull him down as he had set him up: whereas Cæsar, from the first, designing to ruin his rivals, had retired at a distance, like a champion, for exercise. By long service and great achievements in the wars of Gaul, he had so improved his army, and his own reputation too, that he was considered as on a footing with Pompey; and he found pretences for carrying his enterprise into execution, in the times of the misgovernment at Rome. These were partly furnished by Pompey himself; and indeed *all ranks of men were so corrupted that tables were publicly set out, upon which the candidates for offices were professedly ready to pay the people the price of their votes; and the people came not only to give their voices for the man who had bought them, but with all manner of offensive weapons to fight for him.* Hence it often happened that they did not part without polluting the tribunal with blood and murder, and the city was a perpetual scene of anarchy. In this dismal situation of things in these storms of epidemic madness, wise men thought it would be happy if they ended in nothing worse than monarchy. Nay, there were many who scrupled not to declare publicly, that monarchy was the only cure for the desperate disorders of the state, and that the physician ought to be pitched upon, who would apply that remedy with the gentlest hand: by which they hinted at Pompey.

Pompey, in all his discourse, pretended to decline the honour of a dictatorship, though at the same time every step he took was

¹ Cæsar says, that those in the town had a distinct view of the battle.

directed that way. Cato, understanding his drift, persuaded the senate to declare him sole consul that, satisfied with a kind of monarchy more agreeable to law, he might not adopt any violent measures to make himself dictator. The senate not only agreed to this, but continued to him his governments of Spain and Africa, the administration of which he committed to his lieutenants; keeping armies there, for whose maintenance he was allowed 1,000 talents a year out of the public treasury.

Upon this, Cæsar applied, by his friends, for another consulship, and for the continuance of his commission in Gaul, answerable to that of Pompey. As Pompey was at first silent, Marcellus and Lentulus, who hated Cæsar on other accounts, opposed it with great violence, omitting nothing, whether right or wrong, that might reflect dishonour upon him. For they disfranchised the inhabitants of Novocomum in Gaul, which had lately been erected into a colony by Cæsar; and Marcellus, then consul, caused one of their senators, who was come with some complaints to Rome, to be beaten with rods, and telling him, "The marks on his back were so many additional proofs that he was not a Roman citizen," bade him go show them to Cæsar.

But after the consulship of Marcellus, *Cæsar opened the treasures he had amassed in Gaul, to all that were concerned in the administration, and satisfied their utmost wishes; he paid off the vast debts of Curio the tribune; he presented the consul Paulus with 1500 talents, which he employed in building the celebrated public hall near the forum, in the place where that of Fulvius had stood.* Pompey, now alarmed at the increase of Cæsar's faction, openly exerted his own interest, and that of his friends, to procure an order for a successor to Cæsar in Gaul. He also sent to demand the troops he had lent him, for his wars in that country, and Cæsar returned them with a gratuity of 250 drachmas to each man.

Those who conducted these troops back, spread reports among the people which were neither favourable nor fair with respect to Cæsar, and which ruined Pompey with vain hopes. They asserted that Pompey had the hearts of all Cæsar's army, and that if envy and a corrupt administration hindered him from gaining what he desired at Rome, the forces in Gaul were at his service, and would declare for him immediately upon their entering Italy; so obnoxious was Cæsar become, by hurrying them perpetually from one expedition to another, and by the suspicions they had of his aiming at absolute power.

Pompey was so much elated with these assurances that he neglected to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and opposed his enemy only with speeches and decrees, which Cæsar made no account of. Nay, we are told, that a centurion whom Cæsar had sent to Rome, waiting at the door of the senate-house for the result of the deliberations, and being informed that the senate would not give Cæsar a longer term in his commission, laid his hand upon his sword, and said, *But this shall give it.*

Indeed, Cæsar's requisitions had a great appearance of justice

and honour. He proposed to lay down his arms, on condition Pompey would do the same, and that they should both, as private citizens, leave it to their country to reward their services : for to deprive him of his commission and troops, and continue Pompey's, was to give absolute power to the one, to which the other was unjustly accused of aspiring. Curio, who made these propositions to the people in behalf of Cæsar, was received with the loudest plaudits : and there were some who even threw chaplets of flowers upon him, as they would upon a champion victorious in the ring.

Antony, one of the tribunes of the people, then produced a letter from Cæsar to the same purport, and caused it to be read, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from the consuls. Hereupon, Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, proposed in the senate, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms by such a day, he should be declared an enemy to the state ; and the consuls putting it to the question, "Whether Pompey should dismiss his forces?" and again, "Whether Cæsar should disband his?" few of the members were for the first, and almost all for the second.¹ After which Antony put the question, "Whether both should lay down their commissions?" and all with one voice answered in the affirmative. But the violent rage of Scipio, and the clamours of the consul Lentulus, who cried out, that "Not decrees but arms should be employed against a public robber," made the senate break up ; and *on account of the unhappy dissension, all ranks of people put on black, as in a time of public mourning.*

Soon after this, other letters arrived from Cæsar with more moderate proposals. He offered to abandon all the rest, provided they would continue to him the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with two legions, till he could apply for a second consulship. And Cicero, who was lately returned from Cilicia, and very desirous of effecting a reconciliation, used all possible means to soften Pompey. Pompey agreed to all but the article of the two legions ; and Cicero endeavoured to accommodate the matter, by persuading Cæsar's friends to be satisfied with the two provinces and 6,000 soldiers only. Pompey was on the point of accepting the compromise, when Lentulus the consul, rejecting it with disdain, treated Antony and Curio with great indignity, and drove them out of the senate-house. Thus he furnished Cæsar with the most plausible argument imaginable, and he failed not to make use of it to exasperate his troops, by showing them persons of distinction, and magistrates, obliged to fly in hired carriages, and in the habit of slaves,² for their fears had made them leave Rome in that disguise.

Cæsar had not then with him above 300 horse and 5,000 foot. The rest of his forces were left on the other side of the Alps, and

¹ Dio says, there was not a man for the first question, whereas the whole house was for the second, except Cælius and Curio. Nor is this to be wondered at ;

Pompey was then at the gates of Rome with his army.

² Cædus Longinus went with them in the same disguise.

he had sent them orders to join him. But he saw the beginning of his enterprise, and the attack he meditated did not require any great numbers : his enemies were rather to be struck with consternation by the boldness and expedition with which he began his operations ; for an unexpected movement would be more likely to make an impression upon them then, than great preparations afterwards. He, therefore, ordered his lieutenants and other officers to take their swords, without any other armour, and make themselves master of Ariminum, a great city in Gaul, but to take all possible care that no blood should be shed or disturbance raised. Hortensius was at the head of this party. As for himself, he spent the day at a public show of gladiators ; and a little before evening bathed, and then went into the apartment, where he entertained company. When it was growing dark, he left the company, after having desired them to make merry till his return which they would not have long to wait for. To some of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, not all together, but by different ways. Then taking a hired carriage, he set out a different way from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into that road afterwards.

When he arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, which divides Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his reflections became more interesting in proportion as the danger grew near. Staggered by the greatness of his attempt, he stopped, to weigh within himself its inconveniences ; and, as he stood revolving in silence the arguments on both sides, he many times changed his opinion. After which, he deliberated upon it with such of his friends as were by, among whom was Asinius Pollio ; enumerating the calamities which the passage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might be made upon it by posterity. At last, upon some sudden impulse, bidding adieu to his reasonings, and plunging into the abyss of futurity, in the words of those who embark in doubtful and arduous enterprises, he cried out, " The die is cast ! " and immediately passed the river. He travelled so fast the rest of the way, that he reached Ariminum before day-light, and took it. It is said, that the preceding night he had a most abominable dream ; he thought he lay with his mother.

After the taking of Ariminum, as if war had opened wide its gates both by sea and land, and Cæsar, by going beyond the bounds of his province, had infringed the laws of his country : not individuals were seen, as on other occasions, wandering in distraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up, and seeking refuge by flight. Most of the tumultuous tide flowed into Rome, and it was so filled with the hasty confux of the circling people, that amidst the violent agitation it would hardly either obey the magistrate, or listen to the voice of reason, but was in the utmost danger of falling by its own violence ; for the whole was a prey to contrary passions and the most violent convulsions. Those who favoured these disorders were not satisfied with enjoying them in private, but reproached the other party, amidst their fears and sorrows, and

insulted them with menaces of what was to come ; which is the necessary consequence of such troubles in a great city.

Pompey himself, who was already confounded at the turn things had taken, was still more disturbed by a variety of censures on his conduct. Some said, he justly suffered for exalting Cæsar against himself and his country ; others, for permitting Lentulus to over-rule him, when Cæsar departed from his first demands, and offered equitable terms of peace. Favonius went so far as to bid him "Stamp with his foot ;" alluding to a vaunting speech he had made in the senate, in which he bade them take no preparations for the war ; for, as soon as he marched out of Rome, if he did but stamp with his foot, he should fill Italy with his legions.

Pompey, however, at that time was not inferior in numbers to Cæsar, but his partisans would not suffer him to proceed according to his own opinion. By false reports and groundless terrors, as if the enemy was at the gates, and had carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He had it decreed, therefore, that things were in a tumultuous state, and nothing to be expected but hostilities ; and then left Rome, having first ordered the senate, and every man to follow, who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The consuls too fled with him, without offering the sacrifices which custom required before they took their departure from Rome. Most of the senators snatched up those things in their houses that were next at hand, as if the whole was not their own, and joined in the flight. Nay, there were some, who before were well affected to Cæsar, that in the present terror changed sides, and suffered themselves without necessity to be carried away by the torrent. What a miserable spectacle was the city then ! In so dreadful a tempest, like a ship abandoned by its pilots, tossed about at all adventures, and at the mercy of the winds and seas. But though flight was so unpromising an alternative, *such was the love the Romans had for Pompey, that they considered the place he retired to as their country, and Rome as the camp of Cæsar.* For even Labienus, one of Cæsar's principal friends, who, in quality of his lieutenant, had served under him with the greatest alacrity in the wars of Gaul, now went over to Pompey. Nevertheless Cæsar sent him his money and his equipage.

After this, Cæsar invested Corfinium, where Domitius, with thirty cohorts, commanded for Pompey. Domitius¹ in despair ordered a servant of his, who was his physician, to give him poison. He took the draught prepared for him, as a sure means of death ; but soon after, hearing of Cæsar's extraordinary clemency to his prisoners, he lamented his own case and the hasty resolution he had taken. Upon which the physician removed his fears, by assuring him that what he had drunk was a sleeping potion, not a

¹ Lucius Domitius Enobarbus was nominated to succeed Cæsar, pursuant to the decree of the senate, in the govern-

ment of Transalpine Gaul ; but he imprudently shut himself up in Corfinium before he left Italy.

deadly one. This gave him such spirits, that he rose up and went to Cæsar. But though Cæsar pardoned him and gave him his hand, he soon revolted, and repaired again to Pompey.

The news of this transaction being brought to Rome, gave great relief to the minds of the people, and many who had fled came back again. In the meantime Cæsar, having added to his own army the troops of Domitius, and all others that Pompey had left in garrison, was strong enough to march against Pompey himself. The latter, however, did not wait for him; but retired to Brundisium, from whence he sent the consuls with part of the forces to Dyrrachium, and a little after, upon the approach of Cæsar, sailed thither himself, as we have related at large in his life. Cæsar would have followed him immediately, but he wanted ships. *He therefore returned to Rome with the glory of having reduced Italy in sixty days without spilling a drop of blood.*

Finding the city in a more settled condition than he expected, and many senators there, he addressed them in a mild and gracious manner, and desired them to send deputies to Pompey to offer honourable terms of peace. But not one of them would take upon him the commission: whether it was that they were afraid of Pompey, whom they had deserted, or whether they thought Cæsar not in earnest in the proposal, and that he only made it to save appearances. *As Metellus the tribune opposed his taking money out of the public treasury, and alleged some laws against it, Cæsar said, "Arms and laws do not flourish together. If you are not pleased at what I am about, you have nothing to do but to withdraw; indeed, war will not bear much liberty of speech."* When I say this, I am departing from my own right: for you and all, whom I have found exciting a spirit of faction against me, are at my disposal." Saying this he approached the doors of the treasury, and as the keys were not produced, he sent for workmen to break them open. Metellus opposed him again, and some praised his firmness; but Cæsar, raising his voice, threatened to put him to death, if he gave him any farther trouble. "And, young man," said he, "you are not ignorant that this is harder for me to say than to do." Metellus, terrified with this menace, retired, and afterwards Cæsar was easily and readily supplied with everything necessary for the war.

His first movement was to Spain, from whence he was resolved to drive Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants, and after having made himself master of their troops and provinces, to march against Pompey, without leaving any enemy behind him. In the course of this expedition, his life was often in danger from ambuscades, and his army had to combat with famine; yet he continued his operations against the enemy, either by pursuit, or offering them battle, or forming lines of circumvallation about them, till he forced their camp, and added their troops to his own. The officers made their escape, and retired to Pompey.

Upon his return to Rome, his father-in-law Piso pressed him to send deputies to Pompey to treat for an accommodation; but Isauri-

cus, to make his court to Cæsar, opposed it. *The senate declared him dictator*, and while he held that office, he recalled the exiles; he restored to their honours the children of those who had suffered under Sylla; and relieved debtors by cancelling part of the usury. These, and a few more, were his acts during his dictatorship, which he laid down in eleven days. After this, he caused himself to be declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and then went to prosecute the war. He marched so fast to Brundisium, that all his troops could not keep up with him. However, he embarked with only 600 select horse and five legions. It was at the time of the winter solstice, the beginning of January, which answers to the Athenian month *Poseidon*, that he set sail. He crossed the Ionian, made himself master of Oricum and Apollonia, and sent back¹ his ships to Brundisium to bring over the forces that were left behind. But those troops, exhausted with fatigue, and tired out with the multitude of enemies they had to engage with, broke out into complaints against Cæsar, as they were upon their march to the port, "Whither will this man lead us," said they, "and where will be the end of our labours? Will he harass us for ever, as if we had limbs of stone or bodies of iron? But iron itself yields to repeated blows; our very shields and cuirasses call out for rest. Will not Cæsar learn from our wounds that we are mortal, that we have the same feelings, and are liable to the same impressions with other men? The gods themselves cannot force the seasons, or clear the winter seas of storms and tempests. And it is in this season that he would expose us, as if he was flying from his enemies, rather than pursuing them."

Amidst such discourse as this, they moved on slowly to Brundisium. But when they arrived there, and found that Cæsar was gone, they changed their language, and reproached themselves as traitors to their general. They vented their anger upon their officers, too, for not hastening their march. And sitting upon the cliffs, they kept their eyes upon the sea towards Epirus, to see if they could discover the transports that were to fetch them.

Meantime Cæsar, not having a sufficient force at Apollonia to make head against the enemy, and seeing the troops at Brundisium delayed to join him, to relieve himself from the anxiety and perplexity he was in, undertook a most astonishing enterprise. Though the sea was covered with the enemy's fleets, he resolved to embark in a vessel of twelve oars, without acquainting any person with his intention, and sail to Brundisium.² In the night, therefore, he took the habit of a slave, and throwing himself into the

¹ He sent them back under the conduct of Calenus. That officer, losing the opportunity of the wind, fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships, and burned them all, together with their pilots and mariners, in order to intimidate the rest.

² Most historians blame this as a rash action, and Cæsar himself, in his Com-

mentaries, makes no mention of this, or any other less dangerous attempt, which is related by Suetonius. While he was making war in Gaul, upon advice that the Gauls had surrounded his army in his absence, he dressed himself like a native of the country, and in that disguise passed through the enemy's sentinels and troops to his own camp.

vessel like a man of no account, sat there in silence. They went down the river Anias for the sea, where the entrance is generally easy, because the land-wind, rising in the morning, used to beat off the waves of the sea and smooth the mouth of the river. But unluckily that night a strong sea-wind sprung up which overpowered that from the land; so that by the rage of the sea and the counteraction of the stream, the river became extremely rough; the waves dashed against each other with a tumultuous noise, and formed such dangerous eddies, that the pilot despaired of making good his passage, and ordered the mariners to turn back. Cæsar, perceiving this, rose up, and showing himself to the pilot, who was greatly astonished at the sight of him, said, "Go forward, my friend, and *fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune.*" The mariners then forgot the storm, and plying their oars with the utmost vigour and alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the resistance of the waves. But such was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the water flowed so fast into the vessel, that Cæsar at last, though with great reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn back. Upon his return to his camp, the soldiers met him in crowds, pouring out their complaints, and expressing the greatest concern that he did not assure himself of conquering with them only, but, in distrust of their support, gave himself so much uneasiness and exposed his person to so much danger on account of the absent.

Soon after, Antony arrived from Brundisium with the troops.¹ Cæsar, then in the highest spirits, offered battle to Pompey, who was encamped in an advantageous manner, and abundantly supplied with provisions both from sea and land; whereas Cæsar at first had no great plenty, and afterwards was in extreme want. The soldiers, however, found great relief from a root² in the adjoining fields, which they prepared in milk. Sometimes they made it into bread, and going up to the enemy's advanced guards, threw it in among them, and declared, "That as long as the earth produced such roots, they would certainly besiege Pompey."

Pompey would not suffer either such bread to be produced, or such speeches to be reported in his camp; for his men were already discouraged, and ready to shudder at the thought of the impenetrable hardness of Cæsar's troops, who could bear as much as so many wild beasts. There were frequent skirmishes about Pompey's entrenchments,³ and Cæsar had the advantage in them all,

¹ Antony and Fulvius embarked on board the vessels which had escaped Iulius, 800 horse and four legions, that is, three old ones, and one that had been newly raised; and when they were landed, Antony sent back the ships for the rest of the forces.

² This root was called *Clava*. Some of Cæsar's soldiers, who had served in Sardinia, had there learned to make bread of it.

³ Cæsar observed an old camp which he had occupied in a place where Pom-

pey was enclosed, and afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. This post Cæsar attempted to reduce, and it was in this attempt that he suffered so much loss. He lost 900 foot, 400 horse, among whom were several Roman knights, 5 tribunes, and 22 centurions. We mentioned just now that Pompey was enclosed, as in fact he was on the land-side, by a line of circumvallation drawn by Cæsar.

except one, in which his party was forced to fly with such precipitation that he was in danger of having his camp taken. Pompey headed the attack in person, and not a man could stand before him. He drove them upon their own lines in the utmost confusion, and filled their trenches with the dead.

Cæsar ran to meet them, and would have rallied the fugitives, but it was not in his power. He laid hold on the ensign staves to stop them, and some left them in his hands, and others threw them upon the ground, insomuch that no less than 32 standards were taken. Cæsar himself was very near losing his life; for having laid hold of a tall and strong man, to stop him and make him face about, the soldier in his terror and confusion lifted up his sword to strike him; but Cæsar's armour-bearer prevented it by a blow which cut off his arm.

Cæsar saw his affairs that day in so bad a posture, that after Pompey, either through too much caution, or the caprice of fortune, instead of giving the finishing stroke to so great an action, stopped as soon as he had shut up the enemy within their entrenchments, and sounded a retreat, he said to his friends as he withdrew, "*This dry victory would have declared for the enemy, if they had had a general who knew how to conquer.*" He sought repose in his tent, but it proved the most melancholy night of his life; for he gave himself up to endless reflections on his own misconduct in the war. He considered how wrong it was, when the wide countries and rich cities of Macedonia and Thessaly were before him, to confine himself to so narrow a scene of action, and sit still by the sea, while the enemy's fleets had the superiority, and in a place where he suffered the inconveniences of a siege from want of provisions, rather than besiege the enemy by his arms. Thus agitated and distressed by the perplexities and difficulties of his situation, he resolved to decamp, and march against Scipio in Macedonia; concluding, that he should either draw Pompey after him, and force him to fight where he could not receive supplies, as he had done, from the sea; or else that he should easily crush Scipio, if he found him unsupported.

Pompey's troops and officers were greatly elated at this retreat of Cæsar; they considered it as a flight and an acknowledgment that he was beaten, and therefore wanted to pursue. But Pompey himself was unwilling to hazard a battle of such consequence. He was well provided with everything requisite for waiting the advantages of time, and for that reason chose, by protracting the war, to wear out the little vigour the enemy had left. The most valuable of Cæsar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage, which were irresistible in the field; but age had made them unfit for long marches, for throwing up entrenchments, for attacking walls, and passing whole nights under arms. They were too unwieldy to endure much fatigue, and their inclination for labour lessened with their strength. Besides there was said to be a contagious distemper among them, which arose from their strange and bad diet; and what was a still more important circumstance, Cæsar wanted

both money and provisions, so that it seemed as if he must shortly fall of himself.

These were Pompey's reasons for declining a battle ; but not a man, except Cato, was of his opinion ; and he, only, because he was willing to spare the blood of his countrymen, for when he saw the bodies of the enemy, who fell in the late action, to the number of 1,000, lie dead upon the field, he covered his face, and retired, weeping. All the rest censured Pompey for not deciding the affair immediately with the sword, calling him *Agamemnon*, and *King of kings*, as if he was unwilling to be deprived of the monarchy he was in possession of, and delighted to see so many generals waiting his orders, and attending to pay their court. Favonius, who affected to imitate Cato's bold manner of speaking, but carried it much too far, lamented that Pompey's wanting to keep the kingly state he had got would prevent their eating figs that year at Tusculum. And Afranius, lately come from Spain, where he had succeeded so ill in his command, that he was accused of having been bribed to betray his army, asked Pompey, "Why he did not fight that merchant who trafficked in provinces ?"

Piqued at these reproaches, Pompey, against his own judgment, marched after Cæsar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty ; for, on account of his great loss, all looked upon him with contempt, and refused to supply him with provisions. However, upon his taking Gomphi,¹ a town in Thessaly, his troops not only found sufficient refreshment, but recovered surprisingly of the distemper ; for, drinking plentifully of the wine they found there, and afterwards marching on in a Bacchanalian manner, the new turn their blood took threw off the disorder, and gave them another habit of body.

When the two armies were encamped opposite each other on the plains of *Pharsalia*, Pompey returned to his old opinion ; in which he was confirmed by some unlucky omens, and an alarming dream. He dreamed that the people of Rome received him in the theatre with loud plaudits, and that he adorned the chapel of *Venus Nicephora*, from whom Cæsar derived his pedigree. But if Pompey was alarmed, those about him were so absurdly sanguine in their expectations of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled about Cæsar's pontificate ; and numbers sent to Rome, to engage houses convenient for consuls and prætors, making themselves sure of being soon raised to those high offices after the war. But the cavalry testified the greatest impatience for a battle ; so proud were they of their fine arms, of the condition of their horses, and the beauty and vigour of their persons : besides, they were much more numerous than Cæsar's, being 7,000 to one thousand. Nor were the numbers of infantry equal ; for Pompey had 45,000, and Cæsar only twenty-two thousand.

¹ Cæsar, perceiving of how much importance it was to his service to make himself master of the place before Pompey or Scipio could come up gave a

general assault, about three in the afternoon, and, though the walls were very high, carried it before sunset.

Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them, "That Cornificius was well advanced on his way with two more legions, and that he had fifteen cohorts under the command of Calenus, in the environs of Megara and Athens." He then asked them, "Whether they chose to wait for those troops, or to risk a battle without them?" They answered aloud, "Let us not wait; but do you find out some stratagem to bring the enemy, as soon as possible, to an action."

He began with offering sacrifices of purification for his army, and upon opening the first victim, the soothsayer cried out, "You will fight within three days." Cæsar then asked him, if there appeared in the entrails any auspicious presage? He answered, "It is you who can best resolve that question. The gods announce a great change and revolution in affairs. If you are happy at present, the alteration will be for the worse; if otherwise, expect better fortune." *The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, there appeared a luminous phenomenon in the air, like a torch, which, as it passed over his camp, flamed out with great brightness, and seemed to fall on that of Pompey.* And, in the morning, when the guards were relieved, a tumult was observed in the enemy's camp, not unlike a panic terror. Cæsar, however, so little expected an action that day, that he had ordered his troops to decamp, and march to Scotusa.¹

But as they were striking their tents, his scouts rode up, and told him, the enemy were coming down to give him battle. Happy in the news, he made his prayers to the gods, and then drew up his army, which he divided into three bodies. Domitius Calvinus was to command the centre, Antony the left wing, and himself the right, where he intended to charge at the head of the tenth legion. Struck with the number and magnificent appearance of the enemy's cavalry, who were posted over against him, he ordered six cohorts privately to advance from the rear. These he placed behind the right wing, and gave them instructions what to do when the enemy's horse came to charge.² Pompey's disposition was this: He commanded the right wing himself, Domitius the left, and his father-in-law, Scipio, the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was in the left wing; for they designed to surround the right of the enemy, and to make a successful effort where Cæsar fought in person; thinking that no body of foot could be deep enough to bear such a shock, but they must necessarily be broken in pieces upon the first impression.

When the signal was ready to be given, Pompey ordered his infantry to stand in close order, and wait the enemy's attack, till they

¹ Cæsar hoped, by his frequent decampings, to provide better for his troops, and perhaps gain a favourable opportunity of fighting.

² Cæsar and Appian agree, that Pompey posted himself in his left wing, not in the right. It is also highly probable that Africanus, not Lucius Domitius, commanded

Pompey's right wing.—Cæsar does not, indeed, expressly say who commanded there, but he says, "On the right was posted the legion of Cilicia, with the cohorts brought by Africanus out of Spain, which Pompey esteemed the flower of his army."

were near enough to be reached by the javelin. Cæsar blamed this conduct. He said Pompey was not aware what weight the swift and fierce advance to the first charge gives to every blow, nor how the courage of each soldier is inflamed by the rapid motion of the whole.¹

He was now going to put his troops in motion, when he saw a trusty and experienced centurion encouraging his men to distinguish themselves that day. Cæsar called him by his name, and said, "What cheer, Caius Crassinus?"² How, think you, do we stand?" "Cæsar," said the veteran, in a bold accent, and stretching out his hand, "the victory is ours. It will be a glorious one; and this day I shall have your praise either alive or dead." So saying, he ran in upon the enemy, at the head of his company, which consisted of 120 men. He did great execution among the first ranks, and was pressing on with equal fierceness, when one of his antagonists pushed his sword with such force in his mouth, that the point came out at the nape of his neck.

While the infantry were thus warmly engaged in the centre, the cavalry advanced from Pompey's left wing with great confidence, and extended their squadrons, to surround Cæsar's right wing. But before they could begin the attack,³ the six cohorts which Cæsar had placed behind came up boldly to receive them. *They did not, according to custom, attempt to annoy the enemy with their javelins at a distance, nor strike at the legs and thighs when they came nearer, but aimed at the eyes, and wounded them in the face, agreeably to the orders they had received. For Cæsar hoped that these young cavaliers who had not been used to wars and wounds, and who set a great value upon their beauty, would avoid, above all things, a stroke in that part, and immediately give way, as well on account of the present danger as the future deformity. The event answered his expectation.* They could not bear the spears pointed against their faces, or the steel gleaming upon their eyes, but turned away their faces, and covered them with their hands. This caused such confusion, that at last they fled in the most infamous manner, and ruined the whole cause. For the cohorts which had been beaten off surrounded their infantry, and charging them in the rear, as well as in front, soon cut them to pieces.

Pompey, when from the other wing he saw his cavalry put to the rout, was no longer himself, nor did he remember that he was Pompey the Great; but, like a man deprived of his senses by some superior power, or struck with consternation at his defeat as the consequence of the divine decree, he retired to his camp without speaking a word, and sat down in his tent to wait the issue. At last, after his whole army was broken and dispersed, and the enemy had got upon his ramparts, and were engaged with the

¹ Cæsar was so confident of success that he ordered his entrenchments to be filled up, assuring his troops they would be master of the enemy's camp before night.

² Plutarch, in the Life of Pompey, calls

him Crassianus. Cæsar calls him Crassinus.

³ Cæsar says, they did engage their right wing, and obliged his cavalry to give ground. Bell. Civil. lib. III.

troops appointed to defend them, he seemed to come to himself, and cried out, "What, into my camp too?" Without uttering one word more, he laid aside the ensigns of his dignity as general, and taking a habit that might favour his flight, he made his escape privately. What misfortunes befell him afterwards, how he put himself in the hands of the Egyptians, and was assassinated by the traitors, we have related at large in his life.

When Cæsar entered the camp, and saw what numbers of the enemy lay dead, and those they were then despatching, he said with a sigh, "This they would have; to this cruel necessity they reduced me: for had Cæsar dismissed his troops, after so many great and successful wars, he would have been condemned as a criminal." Asinius Pollio tells us, Cæsar spoke those words in Latin, and that he afterwards expressed the sense of them in Greek. He adds, that most of those who were killed at the taking of the camp were slaves, and that there fell not in the battle above 6,000 soldiers.¹ Cæsar incorporated with his own legions most of the infantry that were taken prisoners; and *pardoned many persons of distinction. Brutus, who afterwards killed him, was of the number.* It is said, that when he did not make his appearance after the battle, Cæsar was very uneasy, and that upon his presenting himself unhurt, he expressed great joy.

Among the many signs that announced this victory, that at Tralles was the most remarkable. There was a statue of Cæsar in the temple of Victory, and though the ground about it was naturally hard, and paved with hard stone besides, it is said that a palm tree sprung up at the pedestal of the statue. *At Padua, Caius Cornelius, a countryman and acquaintance of Livy, and a celebrated diviner, was observing the flight of birds the day the battle of Pharsalia was fought. By this observation, according to Livy's account, he first discerned the time of action, and said to those that were by, "The great affair now draws to a decision; the two generals are engaged." Then he made another observation, and the signs appeared so clear to him, that he leaped up in the most enthusiastic manner, and cried out, "Cæsar, thou art the conqueror."* As the company stood in great astonishment, he took the sacred fillet from his head, and swore, "He would never put it on again till the event had put his art beyond question." Livy affirms this for a truth.

Cæsar granted the whole nation of Thessaly their liberty, for the sake of the victory he had gained there, and then went in pursuit of Pompey. He bestowed the same privilege on the Canidians, in compliment to Theopompus, to whom we are indebted for a collection of fables, and he discharged the inhabitants of Asia from a third part of their imposts.

Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he found Pompey assassinated, and when Theodotus presented the head to him, he turned from

¹ Cæsar says, there fell about 16,000 of the enemy, and that he took above 24,000 prisoners; and that on his side, the loss

amounted only to about 200 private soldiers, and thirty centurions

the sight with great abhorrence. The signet of that general was the only thing he took, and on taking it he wept. *As often as any of Pompey's friends and companions were taken by Ptolemy, wandering about the country, and brought to Cæsar, he loaded them with favours, and took them into his own service. He wrote to his friends at Rome, "That the chief enjoyment he had of his victory was, in saving every day one or other of his fellow-citizens who had borne arms against him."*

As for his Egyptian war, some assert, that it was undertaken without necessity, and that his passion for Cleopatra engaged him in a quarrel which proved both prejudicial to his reputation and dangerous to his person. Others accuse the king's ministers, particularly the eunuch Photinus, who had the greatest influence at court, and who, having taken off Pompey and removed Cleopatra, privately meditated an attempt against Cæsar. Hence it is said, that Cæsar began to pass the night in entertainments among his friends, for the greater security of his person. The behaviour, indeed, of this eunuch in public, all he said and did with respect to Cæsar, was intolerably insolent and invidious. The corn he supplied his soldiers with was old and musty, and he told them, "They ought to be satisfied with it, since they lived at other people's cost." He caused only wooden and earthen vessels to be served up at the king's table, on pretence that Cæsar had taken all the gold and silver ones for debt. For the father of the reigning prince owed Cæsar seventeen million five hundred thousand drachmas. Cæsar had formerly remitted to his children the rest, but thought fit to demand the ten millions at this time, for the maintenance of his army. Photinus, instead of paying the money, advised him to go and finish the great affairs he had upon his hands, after which he should have his money with thanks. But Cæsar told him, "He had no need of Egyptian counsellors," and *privately sent for Cleopatra out of the country.*

This princess, taking only one friend, Apollodorus, the Sicilian, with her, got into a small boat, and in the dusk of the evening made for the palace. As she saw it difficult to enter it undiscovered, she rolled herself up in a carpet; Apollodorus tied her up at full length, like a bale of goods, and carried her in at the gates to Cæsar. This stratagem of hers, which was a strong proof of her wit and ingenuity, is said to have first opened her the way to Cæsar's heart; and the conquest advanced so fast, by the charms of her conversation, that he took upon him to reconcile her brother to her, and insisted that she should reign with him.

An entertainment was given on account of this reconciliation, and all met to rejoice on the occasion; when a servant of Cæsar's, who was his barber, a timorous and suspicious man, led by his natural caution to inquire into everything, and to listen everywhere about the palace, found that Achilles the general, and Photinus the eunuch, were plotting against Cæsar's life. Cæsar, being informed of their design, planted his guards about the hall and killed Photinus. But Achilles escaped to the army and involved Cæsar

in a very difficult and dangerous war; for, with a few troops, he had to make head against a great city and a powerful army.

The first difficulty he met with¹ was the want of water, the Egyptians having stopped up the aqueducts that supplied his quarter.² The second was, the loss of his ships in harbour, which he was forced to burn himself, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; when *the flames unfortunately spreading from the dock to the palace, burned the great Alexandrian library.* The third³ was in the sea-fight near the isle of Pharos, when, seeing his men hard pressed, he leaped from the mole into a little skiff, to go to their assistance. The Egyptians making up on all sides, he threw himself into the sea, and with much difficulty reached his galleys by swimming.⁴ Having several valuable papers, which he was not willing either to lose or to wet, it is said he held them above water with one hand, and swam with the other. The skiff sank soon after he left it. At last the king joining the insurgents, Cæsar attacked and defeated him. Great numbers of the Egyptians were slain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæsar opportunity to establish Cleopatra queen of Egypt. Soon after she had a son by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cæsario.

He then departed for Syria, and from thence marched into Asia Minor, where he had intelligence that Domitius, whom he had left governor, was defeated by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, and forced to fly out of Pontus with the few troops that he had left; and that Pharnaces, pursuing his advantage with great ardour, had made himself master of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and was attempting Armenia the Less, having stirred up all the kings and tetrarchs of Asia against the Romans. Cæsar immediately marched against him with three legions, and defeated him in a great battle near Zela, which deprived him of the kingdom of Pontus, as well as ruined his whole army. In the account he gave Amintius, one of his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and despatch with which he gained his victory, he made use only of three words, "*I came, I saw, I conquered.*" Their having all the same form and termination in the Roman language adds grace to their conciseness.

After this extraordinary success he returned to Italy, and arrived at Rome, *as the year of his second dictatorship, an office that had never been annual before, was on the point of expiring.* He was declared consul for the year ensuing. But it was a blot in his character that he did not punish his troops, who, in a tumult, had killed Cosconius and Galba, men of Prætorian dignity, in any severer

¹ He was in great danger before, when attacked in the palace by Achillas, who had made himself master of Alexandria. Cæs. Bell. lib. III. sub finem.

² They also contrived to raise the sea-water by engines, and pour it into Cæsar's reservoirs and cisterns; but Cæsar ordered wells to be dug, and in a night's time got a sufficient quantity of fresh water. Vide Cæs. Bell. Alex.

³ First, there was a general naval engagement; after which Cæsar attacked the island, and, last of all, the mole. It was in the last attack he was under the difficulty mentioned by Plutarch.

⁴ His first intention was to gain the Admiral's galley; but, finding it very hard pressed, he made for the others. And it was fortunate for him that he did, for his own galley soon went to the bottom.

manner than by calling them citizens,¹ instead of fellow-soldiers. Nay, he gave each of them 1,000 drachmas notwithstanding, and assigned them large portions of land in Italy. Other complaints against him arose from the madness of Dolabella, the avarice of Amintius, *the drunkenness of Antony*, and the insolence of Cornificius,² who, having got possession of Pompey's house, pulled it down, and rebuilt it, because he thought it not large enough for him. These things were very disagreeable to the Romans. Cæsar knew it, and disapproved such behaviour, but was obliged, through political views, to make use of such ministers.

Cato and Scipio, after the battle of Pharsalia, had escaped into Africa, where they raised a respectable army with the assistance of King Juba. Cæsar now resolved to carry war into their quarters, and in order to it, first crossed over to Sicily, though it was about the time of the winter solstice. To prevent his officers from entertaining any hopes of having the expedition delayed, he pitched his own tent almost within the wash of the sea; and a favourable wind springing up, he re-embarked with 3,000 foot and a small body of horse.³ After he had landed them safely and privately on the African coast, he set sail again in quest of the remaining part of his troops, whose numbers were more considerable, and for whom he was under great concern. He found them, however, on their way at sea, and conducted them all to his African camp.

He was there informed, that the enemy had great dependence on an ancient oracle, the purport of which was, "That the race of Scipio would be always victorious in Africa." And, as he happened to have in his army one of the family of Africanus, named Scipio Sallution, though in other respects a contemptible fellow, either in ridicule of Scipio, the enemy's general, or to turn the oracle on his side, in all engagements he gave this Sallution the command, as if he had been really general. There were frequent occasions of this kind; for he was often forced to fight for provisions, having neither a sufficiency of bread for his men, nor forage for his horses. He was obliged to give his horses the very sea-weed, only washing out the salt, and mixing a little grass with it to make it go down. The thing that laid him under a necessity of having recourse to this expedient was the number of Numidian cavalry, who were extremely well mounted, and by swift and sudden impressions commanded the whole coast.

One day when Cæsar's cavalry had nothing else to do, they diverted themselves with an African who danced, and played upon

¹ But by this appellation they were cashiered. It was the tenth legion which had mutinied at Capua, and afterwards marched with great insolence to Rome. Cæsar readily gave them the discharge they demanded, which so humbled them, that they begged to be taken again into his service; and he did not admit of it without much seeming reluctance, nor till after much entreaty.

² It was Antony, not Cornificius, who

got the forfeiture of Pompey's house; as appears from the life of Antony, and Cicero's second Philippic. Therefore there is, probably, a transposition in this place, owing to the carelessness of some transcriber.

³ He embarked six legions and 2,000 horse; but the number mentioned by Plutarch was all that he landed with at first, many of the ships having been separated by the storm.

the flute with great perfection. They had left their horses to the care of boys, and sat attending to the entertainment with great delight, when the enemy, coming upon them at once, killed part, and entered the camp with others, who fled with great precipitation. Had not Cæsar himself, and Asinius Pollio come to their assistance, and stopped their flight, the war would have been at an end that hour. In another engagement the enemy had the advantage again; on which occasion it was that Cæsar took an ensign, who was running away, by the neck, and making him face about, said, "*Look on this side for the enemy.*"

Scipio, flushed with these successful preludes, was desirous to come to a decisive action. Therefore, leaving Afranius and Juba in their respective camps, which were at no great distance, he went in person to the camp above the lake, in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, to raise a fortification for a place of arms and an occasional retreat. While Scipio was constructing his walls and ramparts, Cæsar, with incredible despatch, made his way through a country almost impracticable, by reason of its woods and difficult passes, and coming suddenly upon him, attacked one part of his army in the rear, another in the front, and put the whole to flight. Then making the best use of his opportunity, and of the favour of fortune, with one tide of success he took the camp of Afranius, and destroyed that of the Numidians; Juba, their king, being glad to save himself by flight. Thus, in a small part of one day, he made himself master of three camps, and killed 50,000 of the enemy, with the loss only of 50 men.

Such is the account some give us of the action; others say, that as Cæsar was drawing up his army and giving his orders, he had an attack of his old distemper; and that upon its approach, before it had overpowered and deprived him of his senses, as he felt the first agitations, he directed his people to carry him to a neighbouring tower, where he lay in quiet till the fit was over.

Many persons of consular and prætorian dignity escaped out of the battle. Some of them, being afterwards taken, despatched themselves, and a number were put to death by Cæsar. Having a strong desire to take Cato alive, the conqueror hastened to Utica,¹ which Cato had the charge of, and for that reason was not in the battle. But by the way he was informed that he had killed himself, and his uneasiness at the news was very visible. As his officers were wondering what might be the cause of that uneasiness, he cried out, "*Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou enviedst me the glory of giving thee thy life.*" Nevertheless, by the book which he wrote against Cato after his death, it does not seem as if he had any intentions of favour to him before. For how can it be thought he would have spared the living enemy, when he poured so much

¹ Before Cæsar left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did, soon after his return to Italy, for the rebuilding of Corinth; so that these two cities were destroyed in the same

year, and in the same year raised out of their ruins, in which they had lain about 100 years. Two years after, they were both re-peopled with Roman colonics

venom afterwards upon his grave? Yet, from his clemency to Cicero, to Brutus, and others without number, who had borne arms against him, it is conjectured, that the book was not written with a spirit of rancour, but of political ambition; for it was composed on such an occasion. Cicero had written an encomium upon Cato, and he gave the name of *Cato* to the book. It was highly esteemed by many of the Romans, as might be expected, as well from the superior eloquence of the author as the dignity of the subject. Cæsar was piqued at the success of a work, which, in praising a man who had killed himself to avoid falling into his hands, the thought insinuated something to the disadvantage of his character. He therefore wrote an answer to it, which he called *Anticato*, and which contained a variety of charges against that great man. Both books have still their friends, as a regard to the memory of Cæsar or of Cato predominates.

Cæsar, after his return from Africa to Rome, spoke in high terms of his victory to the people. He told them, he had subdued a country so extensive, that it would bring yearly into the public stores 200,000 Attic¹ measures of wheat, and three millions of pounds of oil. After this, he led up his several triumphs over Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. In the title of the latter, mention was not made of Scipio, but of Juba only. Juba, the son of that prince, then very young, walked in the procession. It proved a happy captivity for him; for of a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, he became a historian worthy to be numbered among the most learned of Greece. The triumph was followed by large donations to the soldiers, and feasts and public diversions for the people. He entertained them at 22,000 tables, and presented them with a numerous show of gladiators and naval fights, in honour of his daughter Julia, who had been long dead.

When these exhibitions were over,² an account was taken of the citizens, who, from 320,000, were reduced to 150,000. So fatal a calamity was the civil war, and such a number of the people did it take off, to say nothing of the misfortunes it brought upon the rest of Italy, and all the provinces of the empire.

This business done, he was elected consul the fourth time; and the first thing he undertook was to march into Spain against the sons of Pompey, who, though young, had assembled a numerous

¹ Medimni. See the table of weights and measures.

² Ruauk takes notice of three great mistakes in this passage. The first is, where it is said that Cæsar took a census of the people. Suetonius does not mention it, and Augustus himself, in the *Mémores Ancyrans* says, that in his sixth consulate, that is, in the year of Rome 725, he numbered the people, which had not been done for 12 years before. The second is, that, before the civil war broke out between Cæsar and Pompey, the number of the people in Rom: amounted to no more than 250,000; for long before it was much

greater, and had continued upon the increase. The last is, where it is asserted that, in less than three years, those 220,000 were reduced, by that war, to 160,000; the falsity of which assertion is evident from this, that a little while after, Cæsar made a draught of 80,000, to be sent to foreign colonies. But what is still stranger, eighteen years after, Augustus took an account of the people, and found the number amount to 4,088,000, as Suetonius assures us. From a passage in the same author (*Life of Cæsar*, chap. iv.) these mistakes of Plutarch took their rise.

army, and showed a courage worthy the command they had undertaken. The great battle which put a period to that war was fought under the walls of Munda. Cæsar at first saw his men so hard pressed, and making so feeble a resistance, that he ran through the ranks, amidst the swords and spears, crying, "*Are you not ashamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys?*" The great and vigorous efforts this reproach produced at last made the enemy turn their backs, and there were more than 30,000 of them slain, whereas Cæsar lost only 1,000, but those were some of the best men he had. As he retired after battle, he told his friends, "*He had often fought for victory, but that was the first time he had fought for his life.*"

He won this battle on the day of the *Liberalia*, which was the same day that Pompey the Great marched out, four years before. The younger of Pompey's sons made his escape; the other was taken by Didius, a few days after, who brought his head to Cæsar.

This was the last of his wars; and his triumph on account of it gave the Romans more pain than any other step he had taken. He did not now mount the car for having conquered foreign generals or barbarian kings, but for ruining the children, and destroying the race of one of the greatest men Rome had ever produced, though he proved at last unfortunate. *All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and rejoicing in things which nothing could excuse, either before the gods or men, but extreme necessity.* And it was the more obvious to condemn it, because, before this, he had never sent any messenger or letter to acquaint the public with any victory he had gained in the civil wars, but was rather ashamed of such advantages. The Romans, however, bowing to his power, and submitting to the bridle, because *they saw no other respite from intestine wars and miseries, but the taking one man for their master, credited him dictator for life.* This was a complete tyranny; for to absolute power they added perpetuity.

Cicero was the first who proposed that the senate should confer great honours upon Cæsar, but honours within the measure of humanity. Those who followed contended with each other which should make him the most extraordinary compliments, and by the absurdity and extravagance of their decrees, rendered him odious and insupportable even to persons of candour. His enemies are supposed to vie with his flatterers in these sacrifices, that they might have the better pretence, and the more cause, to lift up their hands against him. This is probable enough, because *in other respects after the civil wars were brought to an end, his conduct was irreproachable.* It seems as if there was nothing unreasonable in their ordering a temple to be built to CLEMENCY, in gratitude for the mercy they had experienced in Cæsar. For he had not only pardoned most of those who had appeared against him in the field, but on some of them he bestowed honours and perferments; on Brutus and Cassius for instance; for they were both prætors. The statues of Pompey had been thrown down, but he did not suffer them to lie in tha-

posture ; he erected them again. On which occasion Cicero said, "That Cæsar, by rearing Pompey's statues, had established his own."

His friends pressed him to have a guard, and many offered to serve in that capacity, but he would not suffer it. "For," he said, "It was better to die once, than to live always in fear of death." He esteemed the affection of the people the most honourable and the safest guard, and therefore endeavoured to gain them by feasts and distributions of corn, as he did the soldiers, by placing them in agreeable colonies. The most noted places that he colonised were Carthage and Corinth ; of which it is remarkable, that as they were both taken and demolished at the same time, so they were at the same time restored.

The nobility he gained by promising them consulates and prætorships, or, if they were engaged, by giving them other places of honour and profit. *To all he opened the prospects of hope ; for he was desirous to reign over a willing people.* For this reason he was so studious to oblige, that when Fabius Maximus died suddenly towards the close of his consulship, he appointed Caninus Rebilus¹ consul for the day that remained. Numbers went to pay their respects to him, according to custom, and to conduct him to the senate-house ; on which occasion Cicero said, "Let us make haste and pay our compliments to the consul, before his office is expired."

Cæsar had such talents for great attempts, and so vast an ambition, that the many actions he had performed by no means induced him to sit down and enjoy the glory he had acquired ; they rather whetted his appetite for other conquests, produced new designs equally great, together with equal confidence of success, and inspired him with a passion for fresh renown, as if he had exhausted all the pleasures of the old. This passion was nothing but a jealousy of himself, a contest with himself (as eager as if it had been with another man) to make his future achievements outshine the past. In this spirit he had formed a design, and was making preparations for war against the Parthians. After he had subdued them, he intended to traverse Hyrcania, and marching along by the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus, to enter Scythia ; to carry his conquering arms through the countries adjoining to Germany, and through Germany itself ; and then to return by Gaul to Rome ; thus finishing the circle of the Roman empire, as well as extending its bounds to the ocean on every side.

During the preparations for this expedition *he attempted to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work to Anienus. He designed also to convey the Tiber by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circei, and so into the sea near Tarracina, for the convenience as well as security of merchants who traded to Rome. Another public-spirited work that he meditated was to drain all the marshes by Nomentum and Setia, by which ground enough would be gained from the water to employ many thousands of hands*

¹ Macrobius calls him Rebilus.

in tillage. He proposed further to raise banks on the shore nearest Rome, to prevent the sea from breaking in upon the land; to clear the Ostian shore of its secret and dangerous obstructions, and to build harbours fit to receive the many vessels that came in there. These things were designed, but did not take effect.

He completed, however, the regulation of the calendar, and corrected the erroneous computation of time, agreeably to a plan which he had ingeniously contrived, and which proved of the greatest utility. For it was not only in ancient times that the Roman months so ill agreed with the revolution of the year, that the festivals and days of sacrifice, by little and little, fell back into seasons quite opposite to those of their institution; but even in the time of Cæsar, when the solar year was made use of, the generality lived in perfect ignorance of the matter; and the priests, who were the only persons that knew anything about it, used to insert, all at once, and when nobody expected it, an intercalary month called *Mercidonus*, of which Numa was the inventor. That remedy, however, proved much too weak, and was far from operating extensively enough, to correct the great miscomputations of time; as we have observed in that prince's life.

Cæsar, having proposed the question to the most able philosophers and mathematicians, published, upon principles already verified, a new and more exact regulation, which the Romans still go by, and by that means are nearer the truth than other nations with respect to the difference between the sun's revolution and that of the twelve months. Yet this useful invention furnished matter of ridicule to the envious, and to those who could but ill brook his power. For Cicero (if I mistake not,) when some one happened to say, "*Lyra will rise to-morrow*," answered, "Undoubtedly; there is an edict for it;" as if the calendar was forced upon them, as well as other things.

But the principal thing that excited the public hatred, and at last caused his death, was his passion for the title of king. It was the first thing that gave offence to the multitude, and it afforded his inveterate enemies a very plausible plea. Those who wanted to procure him that honour, gave it out among the people, that it appeared from the Sibylline books, "The Romans could never conquer the Parthians, except they went to war under the conduct of a king." And one day, when Cæsar returned from Alba to Rome, some of his retainers ventured to salute him by that title. Observing that the people were troubled at this strange compliment, he put on an air of resentment and said, "*He was not called king, but Cæsar.*" Upon this, a deep silence ensued, and he passed on in no good humour.

Another time the senate having decreed him some extravagant honours, the consuls and prætors, attended by the whole body of patricians, went to inform him of what they had done. When they came, he did not rise to receive them, but kept his seat, as if they had been persons in a private station, and his answer to their address, was, "That there was more need to retrench his honours

than to enlarge them." This haughtiness gave pain not only to the senate, but the people, who thought the contempt of that body reflected dishonour upon the whole commonwealth ; for all who could decently withdraw, went off greatly dejected. Perceiving the false step he had taken, he retired immediately to his own house ; and laying his neck bare, told his friends, " He was ready for the first hand that would strike." He then bethought himself of alleging his distemper as an excuse ; and asserted, that those who are under its influence are apt to find their faculties fail them, when they speak standing ; a trembling and giddiness coming upon them, which bereaves them of their senses. This, however, was not really the case ; for it is said, he was desirous to rise to the senate ; but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, held him, and had servility enough to say, " Will you not remember that you are Cæsar, and suffer them to pay their court to you as their superior ? "

These discontents were greatly increased by the indignity with which he treated the tribunes of the people. In the *Lupercalia*, which, according to most writers, is an ancient pastoral feast, and which answers in many respects to the *Lycea* amongst the Arcadians, young men of noble families, and indeed many of the magistrates, run about the streets naked, and by way of diversion, strike all they meet with leathern thongs with the hair upon them.

Numbers of women of the first quality put themselves in their way, and present their hands for stripes (as scholars do to a master), being persuaded that the pregnant gain an easy delivery by it, and that the barren are unable to conceive. Cæsar wore a triumphal robe that day, and seated himself in a golden chair upon the *rastra*, to see the ceremony.

Antony ran among the rest, in compliance with the rules of the festival, for he was consul. When he came into the *forum*, and the crowd had made way for him, he approached Cæsar, and offered him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this, some plaudits were heard, but very feeble, because they proceeded only from persons placed there on purpose. Cæsar refused it, and then the plaudits were loud and general. Antony presented it once more, and few applauded his officiousness : but when Cæsar rejected it again, the applause again was general. Cæsar, undeceived by his second trial, rose up, and ordered the diadem to be consecrated in the Capitol.

A few days after, his statues were seen adorned with royal diadems ; and Flavius and Marullus, two of the tribunes, went and tore them off. They also found out the persons who first saluted Cæsar king, and committed them to prison. The people followed with cheerful acclamations, and called them *Brutus*, because Brutus was the man who expelled the kings, and put the government in the hands of the senate and people. Cæsar, highly incensed at their behaviour, deposed the tribunes ; and by way of reprimand to them, as well as insult to the people, called them several times *Brutes* and *Cumeans*.

Upon this, many applied to Marcus Brutus, who, by the father's side, was supposed to be a descendant of that ancient Brutus, and whose mother was of the illustrious house of the Servilii. He was also nephew and son-in-law to Cato. No man was more inclined than he to lift his hand against monarchy, but he was withheld by the honours and favours he had received from Cæsar, who had not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, and pardoned many of his friends at his request, but continued to honour him with his confidence. That very year he had procured him the most honourable prætorship, and he had named him for the consulship four years after, in preference to Cassius, who was his competitor. On which occasion Cæsar is reported to have said, "Cassius assigns the strongest reasons, but I cannot refuse Brutus."

Some impeached Brutus, after the conspiracy was formed; but, instead of listening to them, he laid his hand on his body, and said, "Brutus will wait for this skin:" intimating, that though the virtue of Brutus rendered him worthy of empire, he would not be guilty of any ingratitude or baseness to obtain it. Those, however, who were desirous of a change, kept their eyes upon him only, or principally at least; and as they durst not speak out plain, they put billets night after night in the tribunal and seat which he used as prætor, mostly in those terms; "*Thou sleepest, Brutus;*" or "*Thou art not Brutus.*"

Cassius perceiving his friend's ambition a little stimulated by these papers, began to ply him closer than before, and spur him on to the great enterprise; for he had a particular enmity against Cæsar, for the reasons which we have mentioned in the life of Brutus. Cæsar, too, had some suspicion of him, and he even said one day to his friends, "*What think you of Cassius? I do not like his pale looks.*" Another time, when Antony and Dolabella were accused of some designs against his person and government, he said, "*I have no apprehensions from those fat and sleek men; I rather fear the pale and lean ones;*" meaning Cassius and Brutus.

It seems, from this instance, that fate is not so secret as it is inevitable; for we are told, there were strong signs and presages of the death of Cæsar. As to the lights in the heavens, the strange noises heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance of solitary birds in the *forum*, perhaps they deserve not our notice in so great an event as this. But some attention should be given to Strabo the philosopher. According to him, *there were seen in the air men of fire encountering each other; such a flame appeared to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, that all the spectators thought it must be burned, yet when it was over, he found no harm; and one of the victims which Cæsar offered, was found without a heart.* The latter was certainly a most alarming prodigy; for, according to the rules of nature, no creature can exist without a heart. What is still more extraordinary, many report, that a certain soothsayer forewarned him of a great danger which threatened him on the ides of March, and that when the day was come, as he

was going to the senate house, he called to the soothsayer, and said, laughing, "The *ides of March* are come;" to which he answered softly, "Yes; but they are not gone."

The evening before, he supped with Marcus Lepidus, and signed, according to custom, a number of letters, as he sat at table. While he was so employed, there arose a question, "What kind of death was the best?" and Cæsar answering before them all, cried out, "A sudden one." The same night, as he was in bed with his wife, the doors and windows of the room flew open at once. Disturbed both with the noise and the light, he observed by moonshine, Calpurnia in a deep sleep, uttering broken words and inarticulate groans. She dreamed that she was weeping over him, as she held him, murdered, in her arms. Others say, she dreamed that the¹ pinnacle was fallen, which, as Livy tells us, the senate had ordered to be erected upon Cæsar's house, by way of ornament and distinction; and that it was the fall of it which she lamented and wept for. Be that as it may, the next morning she conjured Cæsar not to go out that day, if he could possibly avoid it, but to adjourn the senate; and, if he had no regard to her dreams, to have recourse to some other species of divination, or to sacrifices, for information as to his fate. This gave him some suspicion and alarm; for he had never known before, in Calpurnia, anything of the weakness or superstition of her sex, though she was now so much affected.

He therefore offered a number of sacrifices, and, as the diviners found no auspicious tokens in any of them, he sent Antony to dismiss the senate. In the meantime, Decius Brutus,² surnamed Albinus, came in. He was a person in whom Cæsar placed such confidence that he had appointed him his second heir, yet he was engaged in the conspiracy with the other Brutus and Cassius. This man, fearing that if Cæsar adjourned the senate to another day the affair might be discovered, laughed at the diviners, and told Cæsar he would be highly to blame, if by such a slight he gave the senate an occasion of complaint against him. "For they were met," he said, "at his summons, and came *prepared with one voice to honour him with the title of king in the provinces, and to grant that he should wear the diadem both by sea and land everywhere out of Italy*. But if any one go and tell them, now they have taken their places, they must go home again, and return when Calpurnia happens to have better dreams, what room will your enemies have to launch out against you! Or who will hear your friends when they attempt to show, that this is not an open servitude on the one hand, and tyranny on the other?—If you are absolutely persuaded that this is an unlucky day, it is certainly better to go yourself, and tell them you have strong reasons for putting off business till another time." So saying, he took Cæsar by the hand, and led him out.

¹ The pinnacle was an ornament usually placed upon the top of their temples, and was commonly adorned with some statues of their gods, figures of victory, or other symbolical device.

² Plutarch finding a *D* prefixed to Brutus, took it for Decius; but his name was Decimus Brutus. See Appian and Suetonius.

He was not gone far from the door, when a slave, who belonged to some other person, attempted to get up to speak to him, but finding it impossible, by reason of the crowd that was about him, he made his way into the house, and putting himself into the hands of Calpurnia, desired her to keep him safe till Cæsar's return, because he had matters of great importance to communicate.

Artemidorus the Cnidian, who, by teaching the Greek eloquence, became acquainted with some of Brutus's friends, and had got intelligence of most of the transactions, approached Cæsar with a paper, explaining what he had to discover. Observing that he gave the papers, as fast as he received them, to his officers, he got up as close as possible, and said, "Cæsar, read this to yourself, and quickly: for it contains matters of great consequence, and of the last concern to you." He took it and attempted several times to read it, but was always prevented by one application or other. He therefore kept that paper, and that only in his hand, when he entered the house. Some say it was delivered to him by another man,¹ Artemidorus being kept from approaching him all the way by the crowd.

These things might, indeed, fall out by chance; but as in the place where the senate was that day assembled, and which proved the scene of that tragedy, there was a statue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had consecrated for an ornament to his theatre, nothing can be clearer than that some deity conducted the whole business, and directed the execution of it to that very spot. Even Cassius himself, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus, turned his eye to the statue of Pompey, and secretly invoked his aid, before the great attempt. The arduous occasion it seems, overruled his former sentiments, and laid them open to all the influence of enthusiasm. Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæsar, and a man of great strength, was held in discourse without by Brutus Albinus, who had contrived a long story to detain him.

When Cæsar entered the house, the senate rose to do him honour. Some of Brutus's accomplices came up behind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with Metilius² Cimber for the recall of his brother from exile. They continued their instances till he came to his seat. When he was seated he gave them a positive denial; and as they continued their importunities with an air of compulsion, he grew angry. Cimber³ then, with both hands, pulled his gown off his neck, which was the signal for the attack. Casca gave him the first blow. It was a stroke upon the neck with his sword, but the wound was not dangerous; for the beginning of so tremendous an enterprise he

¹ By Calpurn Trebonius. So Plin'arch says, in the Life of Brutus; Appian says the same; and Cicero too, in his second Philippic.

² Metilius is plainly a corruption. Suetonius calls him Cimber Tullius. In Appian he is named Avilius Cimber, and

there is a medal which bears that name; but that medal is believed to be spurious. Poets call him Metellius Cimber; and others suppose we should read M. Tullius Cimber.

³ Here in the original it is Metilius agn.

was probably in some disorder. Cæsar therefore turned upon him and laid hold of his sword. At the same time they both cried out, the one in Latin, "*Villain ! Casca ! what dost thou mean ?*" and the other in Greek, to his brother, "*Brother, help !*"

After such a beginning, those who knew nothing of the conspiracy were seized with consternation and horror, insomuch that they durst neither fly or assist, nor even utter a word. All the conspirators now drew their swords, and surrounded him in such a manner, that whatever way he turned, he saw nothing but steel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like some savage beast attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted against him, for they all agreed to have a share in the sacrifice and a taste of his blood. Therefore *Brutus himself gave him a stroke in the groin. Some say he opposed the rest, and continued struggling and crying out, till he perceived the sword of Brutus ; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate. Either by accident or pushed thither by the conspirators, he expired on the pedestal of Pompey's statue, and dyed it with his blood ;* so that Pompey seemed to preside over the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet, and to enjoy his agonies. Those agonies were great, for he received no less than three and twenty wounds. And many of the conspirators wounded each other, as they were aiming their blows at him.

Cæsar thus despatched, Brutus advanced to speak to the senate, and to assign his reasons for what he had done, but they could not bear to hear him ; they fled out of the house, and filled the people with inexpressible horror and dismay. Some shut up their houses ; others left their shops and counters. All were in motion ; one was running to see the spectacle ; another running back. Antony and Lepidus, Cæsar's principal friends, withdrew, and hid themselves in other people's houses. Meantime Brutus and his confederates, yet warm from the slaughter, marched in a body with their bloody swords in their hands, from the senate-house to the Capitol, not like men that fled, but with an air of gaiety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and stopping to talk with every man of consequence whom they met. There were some who even joined them, and mingled with their train ; desirous of appearing to have had a share in the action, and hoping for one in the glory. Of this number were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity ; being put to death by Antony and young Cæsar. So that they gained not even the honour for which they lost their lives ; for nobody believed that they had any part in the enterprise ; and they were punished, not for the deed but for the will.

Next day Brutus, and the rest of the conspirators came down from the Capitol, and addressed the people, who attended to their discourse without expressing either dislike or approbation of what was done. But by their silence *it appeared that they pitied Cæsar, at the same time that they revered Brutus.* The senate passed a general amnesty ; and to reconcile all parties, they

decreed Cæsar divine honours, and confirmed all the acts of his dictatorship; while on Brutus and his friends they bestowed governments, and such honours as were suitable: so that it was generally imagined the commonwealth was firmly established again, and all brought into the best order.

But when, upon the opening of Cæsar's will, it was found that he had left every Roman citizen a considerable legacy, and *they beheld the body as it was carried through the forum, all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer be kept within bounds. They stopped the procession, and tearing up the benches, with the doors and tables, heaped them into a pile, and burned the corpse there.* Then snatching flaming brands from the pile, some ran to burn the houses of the assassins, while others ranged the city to find the conspirators themselves, and tear them in pieces; but they had taken such care to secure themselves that they could not meet with one of them.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæsar's, had a strange dream the preceding night. He dreamed (as they tell us) that Cæsar invited him to supper, and, upon his refusal to go, caught him by the hand, and drew him after him, in spite of all the resistance he could make. Hearing, however, that the body of Cæsar was to be burned in the *forum*, he went to assist in doing him the last honours, though he had a fever upon him, the consequence of his uneasiness about his dream. On his coming up, one of the populace asked, "Who that was?" and having learned his name, told it to his next neighbour. A report immediately spread through the whole company, that it was one of Cæsar's murderers; and, indeed, one of the conspirators was named Cinna. The multitude, taking this for the man, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces upon the spot. Brutus and Cassius were so terrified at this rage of the populace that, a few days after, they left the city. An account of their subsequent actions, sufferings and death, may be found in the Life of Brutus.

Cæsar died at the age of fifty-six, and did not survive Pompey above four years. His object was sovereign power and authority, which he pursued through innumerable dangers, and by prodigious efforts he gained it at last. But he reaped no other fruit from it than an empty and invidious title. It is true *the Divine Power, which conducted him through life, attended him after his death as his avenger, pursued and hunted out the assassins over sea and land, and rested not till there was not a man left, either of those who dipped their hands in his blood or of those who gave their sanction to the deed.*

The most remarkable of natural events relative to this affair was, that Cassius, after he had lost the battle of Philippi, killed himself with the same dagger which he had made use of against Cæsar; and *the most signal phenomenon in the heavens was that of a great comet,¹ which shone very bright for seven nights after Cæsar's*

¹ A comet made its appearance in the north, while we were celebrating the games in honour of Cæsar, and shone

bright for seven days. It arose about the eleventh hour of the day, and was seen by all nations. It was commonly believed

death, and then disappeared. To which we may add the fading of the sun's lustre; for his orb looked pale all that year; he rose not with a sparkling radiance, nor had the heat he afforded its usual strength. The air, of course, was dark and heavy, for want of that vigorous heat which clears and rarifies it; and the fruits were so crude and uncooked that they pined away and decayed, through the chillness of the atmosphere.

We have a proof still more striking that the assassination of Cæsar was displeasing to the gods, in the phantom that appeared to Brutus. The story of it is this: Brutus was on the point of transporting his army from Abydos to the opposite continent; and the night before he lay in his tent, awake, according to custom, and in deep thought about what might be the event of the war: for it was natural for him to watch great part of the night, and no general ever required so little sleep. With all his senses about him, he heard a noise at the door of his tent, and looking towards the light, which was now burned very low, he saw a terrible appearance in the human form, but of prodigious stature and the most hideous aspect. At first he was struck with astonishment; but when he saw it neither did nor spoke anything to him, but stood in silence by his bed, he asked it, "Who it was?" The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus; thou shalt see me at Philippi." Brutus answered boldly, "I'll meet thee there;" and the spectre immediately vanished.

Some time after, he engaged Antony and Octavius Cæsar at Philippi and the first day was victorious, carrying all before him where he fought in person, and even pillaging Cæsar's camp. The night before he was to fight the second battle, the same spectre appeared to him again, but spoke not a word. Brutus, however, understood that his last hour was near, and courted danger with all the violence of despair. Yet he did not fall in the action; but seeing all was lost, he retired to the top of a rock, where he presented his naked sword to his breast, and a friend, as they tell us, assisting the thrust he died upon the spot.¹

to be a sign that the soul of Cæsar was admitted among the gods; for which reason we added a star to the head of his statue consecrated soon after in the forum."—*Fragm. Avo. Oms. ap. Plin. l. ii. c. 28.*

1 Whatever Plutarch's motive may have been, it is certain that he has given us a very inadequate and imperfect idea of the character of Cæsar. The life he has written is a confused jumble of facts, snatched from different historians, without order, consistency, regularity, or accuracy. He has left us none of those finer and finer traits, which, as he elsewhere justly observes, distinguish and characterise the man more than his most popular and splendid operations. He has written the life of Cæsar like a man under

restraint; has skimmed over his actions, and shown a manifest satisfaction when he could draw the attention of the reader to other characters and circumstances, however insignificant, or how often soever repeated by himself, in the narrative of other lives. Yet from the little light he has afforded us, and from the better accounts of other historians, we may easily discover, that Cæsar was a man of great and distinguished virtues. Had he been as able in his political as he was in his military capacity; had he been capable of hiding, or even of managing that openness of mind, which was the connate attendant of his liberality and ambition, the last prevailing passion would not have blinded him so far as to put so early a period to his race of glory.

CICERO.

THE account we have of Henlia, the mother of Cicero, is, that her family was noble,¹ and her character excellent. Of his father there is nothing said but in extremes. For some affirm that he was the son of a fuller,² and educated in that trade, while others deduce his origin from Attius Tullus,³ a prince who governed the Volsci with great reputation. Be that as it may, I think the first of the family who bore the name of Cicero must have been an extraordinary man; and for that reason his posterity did not reject the appellation, but rather took to it with pleasure, though it was a common subject of ridicule: for the Latins call a vetch *cicer*, and he had a flat excrescence on the top of his nose in resemblance of a vetch, from which he got that surname.⁴ As for the Cicero of whom we are writing, his friends advised him, on his first application to business and soliciting one of the great offices of state, to lay aside or change that name. But he answered with great spirit, "That he would endeavour to make the name of Cicero more glorious than of the Scauri and the Catuli." When quæstor in Sicily, he consecrated in one of the temples a vase or some other offering in silver, upon which he inscribed his two first names *Marcus Tullius*, and, punning upon the third, ordered the artificer to engrave a vetch. Such is the account we have of his name.

He was born on the third of January,⁵ the day on which the magistrates now sacrifice and pay their devotions for the health of the emperor; and it is said that his mother was delivered of him without pain. It is also reported, that a spectre appeared to his nurse, and foretold, that the child she had the happiness to attend would one day prove a great benefit to the whole commonwealth of Rome. These things might have passed for idle dreams, had he not soon demonstrated the truth of the prediction. When he was of a proper age to go to school, his genius broke out with so much lustre, and he gained so distinguished a reputation among the boys, that the fathers of some of them repaired to the school to see Cicero, and to have specimens of his capacity for literature; but the less civilized were angry with their sons, when they saw them take Cicero in the middle of them as he walked, and always give him the place of honour. He had that turn of genius

¹ Clæna was of this family.

² Dion tells us that Q. Calenus was the author of this calumny. Cicero, in his books *De Legibus*, has said enough to show that both his father and grandfather were persons of property and of a liberal education.

³ The same prince to whom Coriolanus retired four hundred years before.

⁴ Pliny's account of the origin of this

name is more probable. He supposes that the person who first bore it was remarkable for the cultivation of vetches. 8) Fabius, Lentulus, and Plac, had their names from beans, tares, and peas.

⁵ In the six hundred and forty-seventh year of Rome: a hundred and four years before the Christian era. Pompey was born in the same year.

and disposition which Plato¹ would have a scholar and philosopher to possess. He had both the capacity and inclination to learn all the arts, nor was there any branch of science that he despised ; yet he was most inclined to poetry ; and there is still extant a poem, entitled *Pontius Glaucus*,² which was written by him, when a boy, in tetrameter verse. In process of time when he had studied this art, with greater application, he was looked upon as the best poet, as well as the greatest orator, in Rome. His reputation for oratory still remains, notwithstanding the considerable changes that have since been made in the language ; but, as many ingenious poets have appeared since his time, his poetry has lost its credit, and is now neglected.³

When he had finished those studies through which boys commonly pass, he attended the lectures of Philo the academician, whom, of all the scholars of Clitomachus, the Romans most admired for his eloquence, and loved for his conduct. At the same time he made great improvement in the knowledge of the law, under Mucius Scaevola, an eminent lawyer, and president of the senate. He likewise got a taste for military knowledge under Sylla, in the Marsian war.⁴ But afterwards, finding the commonwealth engaged in civil wars, which were likely to end in nothing but absolute monarchy, he withdrew to a philosophic and contemplative life ; conversing with men of letters from Greece, and making farther advances in science. This method of life he pursued till Sylla had made himself master, and there appeared to be some established government again.

About this time Sylla ordered the estate of one of the citizens to be sold by auction, in consequence of his being killed as a person proscribed ; when it was struck off to Chrysogonus, Sylla's freed-man, at the small sum of 2,000 *drachmae*. Roscius, the son and heir of the deceased, expressed his indignation, and declared that the estate was worth 250 talents. Sylla, enraged at having his conduct thus publicly called in question, brought an action against Roscius for the murder of his father, and appointed Chrysogonus to be the manager. Such was the dread of Sylla's cruelty, that no man offered to appear in defence of Roscius, and nothing seemed left for him but to fall a sacrifice. In this distress he applied to Cicero, and the friends of the young orator desired him to undertake the cause ; thinking he could not have a more glorious opportunity to enter the lists of fame. Accordingly he undertook his

¹ Plato's *Commonwealth*, lib. v.

² This Glaucus was a famous fisherman, who, after eating a certain herb, jumped into the sea, and became one of the gods of that element. Æschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject. Cicero's poem is lost.

³ Pinitarch was a very indifferent judge of the Latin poetry, and his censure with

is a strong proof of it. He translated Aratus into verse at the age of seven years, and wrote a poem in praise of the actions of Marius, which, Scaevola said, would live through innumerable ages. But he was out in his prophecy. It has long been dead. And the poem which he wrote in three books, on his own consulship, has shared the same fate.

⁴ In the eighteenth year of his age.

defence, succeeded, and gained great applause.¹ But, fearing Sylla's resentment, he travelled into Greece, and gave out that the recovery of his health was the motive. *Indeed, he was of a lean and slender habit, and his stomach was so weak that he was obliged to be very sparing in his diet, and not to eat till a late hour in the day. His voice, however, had a variety of inflections, but was at the same time harsh and unformed; and, as in the vehemence and enthusiasm of speaking he always rose into a loud key, there was reason to apprehend that it might injure his health.*

When he came to Athens, he heard Antiochus the Ascalonite, and was charmed with the smoothness and grace of his elocution, though he did not approve his new doctrines in philosophy. For Antiochus had left the *new academy*, as it is called, and the sect of Carneades, either from clear conviction and from the strength of the evidence of sense, or else from a spirit of opposition to the schools of Clitomachus and Philo, and had adopted most of the doctrines of the Stoics. *But Cicero loved the new academy, and entered more and more into its opinions, having already taken his resolution, if he failed in his design of rising in the state, to retire from the forum and all political intrigues, to Athens, and spend his days in peace in the bosom of philosophy.*

But not long after he received the news of Sylla's death. His body by this time was strengthened by exercise, and brought to a good habit. His voice was formed; and at the same time that it was full and sonorous, had gained a sufficient sweetness, and was brought to a key which his constitution could bear. Besides, his friends at Rome solicited him by letters to return, and Antiochus exhorted him much to apply himself to public affairs. For which reasons he exercised his rhetorical powers afresh, as the best engines for business, and called forth his political talents. In short, he suffered not a day to pass without either declaiming, or attending the most celebrated orators. In the prosecution of this design he sailed to Asia and the island of Rhodes. Amongst the rhetoricians of Asia, he availed himself of the instructions of Xenocles of Adramyttæum, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus of Caria. At Rhodes he studied under the rhetorician Apollonius the son of Molo,² and the philosopher Posidonius. It is said, that Apollonius not understanding the Roman language, desired Cicero to declaim in Greek; and he readily complied, because he thought by that means his faults might the better be corrected. When he had ended his declamation, the rest were astonished at his performance, and strove which should praise him most; but Apollonius showed no signs of pleasure while he was speaking; and when he had done he sat a long time thoughtful and silent. At last, observing the uneasiness it gave his pupil, he said, "As for you Cicero, I praise and admire you; but I am concerned for the fate of Greece. She had nothing left her but the glory of eloquence and erudition, and you are carrying that too to Rome."

¹ In his twenty-seventh year.

² Not Apollonius the son of Molo, but Apollonius Molo.

Cicero now prepared to apply himself to public affairs with great hopes of success : but his spirit received a check from the oracle at Delphi. For upon his inquiring by what means he might rise to the greatest glory, the priestess bade him "follow nature, and not take the opinion of the multitude for the guide of his life." Hence it was, that after his coming to Rome he acted at first with great caution. He was timorous and backward in applying for public offices, and *had the mortification to find himself neglected, and called a Greek, a scholastic*; terms which the artizans, and others the meanest of the Romans, are very liberal in applying. *But as he was naturally ambitious of honour, and spurred on besides by his father and his friends, he betook himself to the bar.* Nor was it by slow and insensible degrees that he gained the palm of eloquence; his fame shot forth at once, and he was distinguished above all the orators of Rome. Yet it is said that his turn for action was naturally as defective as that of Demosthenes; and therefore he took all the advantage he could from the instruction of Roscius, who excelled in comedy, and of Æsop, whose talents lay in tragedy. This Æsop, we are told, when he was one day acting Atreus, in the part where he considers in what manner he should punish Thyestes, being worked up by his passion to a degree of insanity, with his sceptre struck a servant who happened suddenly to pass by, and laid him dead at his feet. In consequence of these helps, Cicero found his powers of persuasion not a little assisted by action and just pronunciation. But as for those orators who gave into a bawling manner, he laughed at them, and said, "Their weakness made them get up into clamour, as lame men get on horseback." *His excellence at hitting off a jest or repartee animated his pleadings*, and therefore seemed not foreign to the business of the forum: but by bringing it much into life, he offended numbers of people, and got the character of a malevolent man.

He was appointed quæstor at a time when there was a great scarcity of corn; and having Sicily for his province, he gave the people a great deal of trouble at first, by compelling them to send their corn to Rome. But afterwards, *when they came to experience his diligence, his justice, and moderation. they honoured him more than any quæstor that Rome had ever sent them.* About that time a number of young Romans of noble families, who lay under the charge of having violated the rules of discipline, and not behaved with sufficient courage in time of service, were sent back to the prætor of Sicily. Cicero undertook their defence, and acquitted himself of it with great ability and success. As he returned to Rome, much elated with these advantages, he tells us¹ he met with a pleasant adventure. As he was on the road through Campania, meeting with a person of some eminence with whom he was acquainted, he asked him, "What they said and thought of his actions in Rome?" imagining that his name and the glory of his

¹ In his oration for Plautius

achievements had filled the whole city. His acquaintance answered, "Why, where have you been, then, Cicero, all this time!"

This answer dispirited him extremely; for he found that the accounts of his conduct had been lost in Rome, as in an immense sea, and had made no remarkable addition to his reputation. By mature reflection upon this incident, he was brought to retrench his ambition, because he saw that *contention for glory was an endless thing, and had neither measure nor bounds to terminate it. Nevertheless, his immoderate love of praise, and his passion for glory, always remained with him, and often interrupted his best and wisest designs.*

When he began to dedicate himself more earnestly to public business, he thought that, while mechanics knew the name, the place, the use of every tool and instrument they take in their hands, though those things are inanimate, it would be absurd for a statesman, whose functions cannot be performed but by means of men, to be negligent in acquainting himself with the citizens. He therefore made it his business to commit to memory, not only their names, but the place of abode of those of greater note, what friends they made use of, and what neighbours were in their circle. So that *whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, he could easily point out the estates and houses of his friends.*

Though his own estate was sufficient for his necessities, yet, as it was small, it seemed strange that *he would take neither fee nor present for his services at the bar.* This was most remarkable in the case of Verres. Verres had been *prætor* in Sicily, and committed numberless acts of injustice and oppression. The Sicilians prosecuted him, and Cicero gained the cause for them, not so much by pleading, as by forbearing to plead. The magistrates, in their partiality to Verres, put off the trial by several adjournments to the last day;¹ and as Cicero knew there was not time for the advocates to be heard, and the matter determined in the usual method, he rose up, and said, "There was no occasion for pleadings." He therefore brought up the witnesses, and after their depositions were taken, insisted that the judges should give their verdict immediately."

Yet we have an account of several humorous sayings of Cicero's in this cause. When an emancipated slave, Cæcilius by name, who *was suspected of being a Jew*, would have set aside the Sicilians, and taken the prosecution of Verres upon himself;² Cicero said, "What has a Jew to do with swine's flesh?" For the Romans call a boar-pig *verres*. And when Verres reproached Cicero with effeminacy, he answered, "Why do you not first reprove your own children?" For Verres had a young son who was supposed to make an infamous use of his advantages of person. Hortensius

¹ Not till the last day. Cicero brought it on a few days before Verres' friends were to come into office; but of the seven orations which were competed on the

occasion, the two first only were delivered. A. U. C. 683.

² Cicero knew that Cæcilius was secretly a friend to Verres, and wanted by this means to bring him off.

the orator did not venture directly to plead the cause of Verres, but he was prevailed on to appear for him at the laying of the fine, and had received an ivory *sphinx* from him by way of consideration. In this case Cicero threw out several enigmatical hints against Hortensius; and when he said, "He knew not how to solve riddles," Cicero retorted, "That is somewhat strange, when you have a *sphinx* in your house."

Verres being thus condemned, Cicero set his fine at 750,000 *drachmæ*; upon which, it was said by censorious people, that he had been bribed to let him off so low.¹ The Sicilians, however, in acknowledgment of his assistance, brought him when he was needed a number of things for his games, and other very valuable presents; but he was so far from considering his private advantage, that he made no other use of their generosity than to lower the price of provisions.

He had a handsome country seat at Arpinum, a farm near Naples, and another at Pompeii, but neither of them were very considerable. His wife Terentia brought him a fortune of 120,000 *denarii*, and he fell heir to something that amounted to 90,000 more. Upon this he lived in a genteel, and at the same time a frugal manner, with men of letters, both Greeks and Romans around him. *He rarely took his meal before sunset*; not that business or study prevented his sitting down to table sooner, but the weakness of his stomach, he thought, required that regimen. Indeed, *he was so exact in all respects in the care of his health, that he had his stated hours for rubbing and for the exercise of walking*. By this management of his constitution, he gained a sufficient stock of health and strength for the great labours and fatigues he afterwards underwent.

He gave up the town house which belonged to his family to his brother, and took up his residence on the Palatine hill, that those who came to pay their court to him might not have too far to go. For he had a levee every day, not less than Crassus had for his great wealth, or Pompey for his power and interest in the army; though they were the most followed, and the greatest men in Rome. Pompey himself paid all due respect to Cicero, and found his political assistance very useful to him, both in respect to power and reputation.

When Cicero stood for the prætorship, he had many competitors who were persons of distinction, and yet he was returned first. *As a president in the courts of justice, he acted with great integrity and honour*. Licinius Macer, who had great interest of his own, and was supported, besides, with that of Crassus, was accused before him of some default with respect to money. He had so much confidence in his own influence and the activity of his friends, that, when the judges were going to decide the cause, it is

¹ This fine indeed was very inconsiderable. The legal fine for extortion, in such cases as that of Verres, was twice the sum extorted. The Sicilians laid a charge of £32,916 against Verres; the fine must

therefore have been £64,832, but 750,000 drachmæ was no more than £24,218. Plutarch must therefore most probably have been mistaken.

said he went home, cut his hair, and put on a white habit, as if he had gained the victory, and was about to return so equipped to the *forum*. But Crassus met him in his court-yard, and told him that all the judges had given verdict against him ; which affected him in such a manner that he turned in again, took to his bed, and died.¹ Cicero gained honour by this affair, for it appeared that he kept strict watch against corruption in the court.

There was another person, named Vatinius, an insolent orator, who paid very little respect to the judges in his pleadings. It happened that he had his neck full of scrofulous swellings. This man applied to Cicero about some business or other, and as that magistrate did not immediately comply with his request, but sat some time deliberating, he said, "I could easily swallow such a thing, if I was prætor ;" upon which Cicero turned towards him, and made answer, "But I have not so large a neck."

When there were only two or three days of his office unexpired, an information was laid against Manilius for embezzling the public money. This Manilius was a favourite of the people, and they thought he was only prosecuted on Pompey's account, being his particular friend. He desired to have a day fixed for his trial ; and, as Cicero appointed the next day, the people were much offended, because *it had been customary for the prætors to allow the accused ten days at the least*. The tribunes therefore cited Cicero to appear before the commons, and give an account of this proceeding. He desired to be heard in his own defence, which was to this effect,—"*As I have always behaved to persons impeached with all the moderation and humanity that the laws will allow, I thought it wrong to lose the opportunity of treating Manilius with the same candour. I was master only of one day more in my office of prætor, and consequently must appoint that ; for to leave the decision of the cause to another magistrate was not the method for those who were inclined to serve Manilius.*" This made a wonderful change in the minds of the people ; they were lavish in their praises, and desired him to undertake the defence himself. This he readily complied with ; his regard for Pompey, who was absent, not being his least inducement. In consequence hereof he presented himself before the commons again, and giving an account of the whole affair, took opportunity to make severe reflections on those who favoured oligarchy, and envied the glory of Pompey.

Yet for the sake of their country, the patricians joined the plebeians in raising him to the consulship. The change which

¹ The story is related differently by Valerius Maximus. He says that Macer was in court writing the issue, and, perceiving that Cicero was proceeding to give sentence against him, he sent to inform him that he was dead, and at the same time suffocated himself with his handkerchief. Cicero, therefore, did not pronounce sentence against him, by which

means his estate was saved to his son Lucius Calvus. Notwithstanding this, Cicero himself, in one of his epistles to A. Hirtius, says, that he actually condemned him ; and in another of his epistles he speaks of the popular esteem this affair procured him. Cic. Ep. ad Att. l. i. c. 3, 4.

Sylla introduced into the constitution at first seemed harsh and uneasy, but by time and custom it came to an establishment which many thought not a bad one. At present there were some who wanted to bring in another change, merely to gratify their own avarice, and without the least view to the public good. Pompey was engaged with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and there was no force in Rome sufficient to suppress the authors of this intended innovation. They had a chief of a bold and enterprising spirit, and the most remarkable versatility of manners; his name Lucius Catiline. Besides a variety of other crimes, he was accused of debauching his own daughter, and killing his own brother. To screen himself from prosecution for the latter, he persuaded Sylla to put his brother among the proscribed, as if he had been still alive. These profligates, with such a leader, among other engagements of secrecy and fidelity, sacrificed a man, and ate of his flesh. Catiline had corrupted great part of the Roman youth by indulging their desires in every form of pleasure, providing them wine and women, and setting no bounds to his expenses for these purposes. All Tuscany was prepared for the revolt, and most of Cisalpine Gaul. The vast inequality of the citizens in point of property prepared Rome too for a change. *Men of spirit amongst the nobility had impoverished themselves by their great expenses on public exhibitions and entertainments, on bribing for offices, and erecting magnificent buildings;* by which means the riches of the city were fallen into the hands of mean people; in this tottering state of the commonwealth there needed no great force to upset it, and it was in the power of any bold adventurer to accomplish its ruin.

Catiline, however, before he began his operations, wanted a strong fort to sally out from, and with that view stood for the consulship. His prospect seemed very promising, because he hoped to have Caius Antonius for his colleague; a man who had no firm principles either good or bad, nor any resolution of his own, but would make a considerable addition to the power of him that led him. Many persons of virtue and honour, perceiving this danger, put up Cicero for the consulship, and the people accepted him with pleasure. Thus Catiline was baffled, and Cicero, (in his 43d year) and Caius Antonius appointed consuls; though *Cicero's father was only of the equestrian order*, and his competitors of patrician families.

Catiline's designs were not yet discovered to the people. Cicero, however, at his entrance upon his office, had great affairs on his hands, the preludes of what was to follow. On the one hand, those who had been incapacitated by the laws of Sylla to bear offices, being neither inconsiderable in power nor in number, began now to solicit them, and make all possible interest with the people. It is true, they alleged many just and good arguments against the tyranny of Sylla, but it was an unseasonable time to give the administration so much trouble. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people proposed laws which had the same tendency to dis-

truss the government; for they wanted to appoint *decemvirs*, and invest them with an unlimited power. This was to extend all over Italy, over Syria, and all the late conquests of Pompey. They were to be commissioned to sell the public lands in these countries; to judge or banish whom they pleased; to plant colonies: to take money out of the public treasury; to levy and keep on foot what troops they thought necessary. Many Romans of high distinction were pleased with the bill, and in particular Antony, Cícero's colleague, for he hoped to be one of the ten. It was thought, too, that he was no stranger to Catiline's designs, and that he did not disrelish them on account of his great debts. This was an alarming circumstance to all who had the good of their country at heart.

This danger, too, was the first that Cícero guarded against: which he did by getting the province of Macedonia decreed to Antony, and not taking that of Gaul which was allotted to himself. Antony was so much affected with this favour, that he was ready, like an hired player, to act a subordinate part under Cícero for the benefit of his country. Cícero having thus managed his colleague, began with greater courage to take his measures against the seditious party. He alleged his objections against the law in the senate, and effectually silenced the proposers.¹ They took another opportunity, however, and coming prepared, insisted that the consul should appear before the people. Cícero, not in the least intimidated, commanded the senate to follow him. He addressed the commons with such success, that they threw out the bill; and his victorious eloquence had such an effect upon the tribunes, that they gave up other things which they had been meditating.

He was indeed the man who *most effectually showed the Romans what charms eloquence can add to truth, and that justice is invincible when properly supported*. He showed also, that a magistrate who watches for the good of the community should in his actions always prefer right to popular measures, and in his speeches know how to make those right measures agreeable, by separating from them whatever may offend. Of the grace and power with which he spoke, we have a proof in a theatrical regulation that took place in his consulship. Before, those of the equestrian order sat mixed with the commonalty. *Marcus Otho, in his prætorship, was the first who separated the knights from the other citizens, and appointed them seats which they still enjoy*. The people looked upon this as a mark of dishonour, and hissed and insulted Otho when he appeared at the theatre. The knights, on the other hand, received him with loud plaudits. The people repeated their hissing, and the knights their applause; till at last they came to mutual reproaches, and threw the whole theatre into the utmost disorder. Cícero being informed of the disturbance,

¹ This was the first of his three orations *de Lege Agraria*.

² About four years before, under the

consulship of Piso and Glabrio. But Otho was not then prætor, he was tribune.

came and called the people to the temple of Bellona ; where, partly by reproof, partly by lenient applications, he so corrected them, that they returned to the theatre, loudly testified their approbation of Otho's conduct, and strove with the knights which should do him the most honour.

Catiline's conspiracy, which at first had been intimidated and discouraged, began to recover its spirits. The accomplices assembled, and exhorted each other to begin their operations with vigour, before the return of Pompey, who was said to be already marching homewards with his forces. But Catiline's chief motive for action was the dependence he had on Sylla's veterans. Though these were scattered all over Italy, the greatest and most warlike part resided in the cities of Etruria, and in idea were plundering and sharing the wealth of Italy again. They had Manlius for their leader, a man who had served with great distinction under Sylla ; and now entering into Catiline's views, they came to Rome to assist in the approaching election ; for he solicited the consulship again, and had resolved to kill Cicero in the tumult of that assembly.

The gods seemed to presignify the machinations of these incendiaries by earthquakes, thunders, and apparitions. There were also intimations from men, true enough in themselves, but not sufficient for the conviction of a person of Catiline's quality and power. Cicero, therefore, adjourned the day of election ; and having summoned Catiline before the senate, examined him upon the informations he had received. Catiline, believing there were many in the senate who wanted a change, and at the same time being desirous to show his resolution to his accomplices who were present, answered with a calm firmness :—"As there are two bodies, one of which is feeble and decayed, but has a head ; the other strong and robust, but is without a head ; what harm am I doing, if I give a head to the body that wants it ?" By these enigmatical expressions he meant the senate and the people. Consequently Cicero was still more alarmed. On the day of election he put on a coat of mail ; the principal persons in Rome conducted him from his house, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the *Campus Martius*. There he drew back his robe, and showed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him ; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was thrown out again, and Silanus and Murena chosen consuls.

Not long after this, when the veterans were assembling for Catiline in Etruria, and the day appointed for carrying the plot into execution approached, three of the first and greatest personages in Rome, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, went and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight, and having called the porter, bade him awake his master, and tell him who attended. Their business was this : Crassus's porter brought him in a packet of letters after supper, which he had received from a person unknown. They were directed to different persons, and

there was one for Crassus himself, but without a name. This only Crassus read ; and when he found that it informed him of a great massacre intended by Catiline, and warned him to retire out of the city, he did not open the rest, but immediately went to wait on Cicero : for he was not only terrified at the impending danger, but he had some suspicions to remove which had arisen from his acquaintance with Catiline. Cicero having consulted with them what was proper to be done, assembled the senate at break of day and delivered the letters according to the directions, desiring at the same time that they might be read in public. They all gave the same account of the conspiracy.

Quintus Arius, a man of pretorian dignity, moreover, informed the senate of the levies that had been made in Etruria, and assured them that Manlius, with a considerable force, was hovering about those parts, and only waiting for news of an insurrection in Rome. On these informations, the senate made a decree, by which all affairs were committed to the consuls, and they were empowered to act in the manner they should think best for the preservation of the commonwealth. This is an edict which the senate seldom issue, and never but in some great and imminent danger.

When Cicero was invested with this power, he committed the care of things without the city to Quintus Metellus, and took the direction of all within to himself. He made his appearance every day attended and guarded by such a multitude of people, that they filled a great part of the forum. Catiline, unable to bear any longer delay, determined to repair to Manlius and his army ; and ordered Marcus and Cethegus to take their swords and go to Cicero's house early in the morning, where, under pretence of paying their compliments, they were to fall upon him and kill him. But Fulvia, a woman of quality, went to Cicero in the night to inform him of his danger, and charged him to be on his guard in particular against Cethegus. As soon as it was light, the assassins came, and being denied entrance, they grew very insolent and clamorous, which made them the more suspected.

Cicero went out afterwards, and assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, which stands at the entrance of the *Via Sacra*, in the way to the Palatine hill. *Catiline came among the rest, as with a design to make his defence ; but there was not a senator who would sit by him ; they all left the bench he had taken ; and when he began to speak, they interrupted him in such a manner that he could not be heard.*

At length Cicero rose up, and commanded him to depart the city : "for," said he, "while I employ only words, and you weapons, there should at least be walls between us." Catiline, upon this, immediately marched out with 300 men well armed, and with the fasces and other ensigns of authority, as if he had been a lawful magistrate. In this form he went to Manlius, and having assembled an army of 20,000 men, he marched to the cities, in order to persuade them to revolt. Hostilities having thus openly commenced, Antony, Cicero's colleague, was sent against Catiline.

Such as Catiline had corrupted, and thought proper to leave in Rome, were kept together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed *Sura*, a man of noble birth, but bad life. *He had been expelled the senate for his debaucheries, but was then prætor the second time; for that was a customary qualification when ejected persons were to be restored to their places in the senate.*¹ As to the surname of *Sura*, it is said to have been given him on this occasion. When he was quæstor in the time of Sylla, he had lavished away vast sums of the public money. Sylla, incensed at his behaviour, demanded an account of him in full senate. Lentulus came up in a very careless and disrespectful manner, and said, "I have no account to give, but I present you with the calf of my leg;" which was a common expression among the boys, when they missed their stroke at tennis. Hence he had the surname of *Sura*, which is the Roman word for the calf of the leg. Another time, being prosecuted for some great offence, he corrupted the judges. When they had given their verdict, though he was acquitted only by a majority of two, he said, "He had put himself to a needless expense in bribing one of those judges, for it would have been sufficient to have had a majority of one."

Such was the disposition of this man, who had not only been solicited by Catiline, but was moreover infatuated by vain hopes, which prognosticators and other impostors held up to him. They forged verses in an oracular form, and brought him them as from the books of the Sibyls. These lying prophecies signified the decree of fate, "That three of the Corneliî would be monarchs of Rome." They added, "That two had already fulfilled their destiny, Cinna and Sylla; that he was the third Cornelius to whom the gods now offered the monarchy; and that he ought by all means to embrace his high fortune, and not ruin it by delays, as Catiline had done."

Nothing little or trivial now entered into the schemes of Lentulus. He resolved to kill the whole senate, and as many of the other citizens as he possibly could; to burn the city, and to spare none but the sons of Pompey, whom he intended to seize and keep as pledges of his peace with that general: for by this time it was strongly reported that he was on his return from his great expedition. The conspirators had fixed on a night during the feast of the *Saturnalia* for the execution of their enterprise. They had lodged arms and combustible matter in the house of Cethegus. They had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and pitched upon the same number of men, each of whom was allotted his quarter to set fire to. As this was to be done by them all at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general; others were to intercept the water, and kill all that went to seek it.

While these things were preparing, there happened to be at

¹ When a Roman senator was expelled, an appointment to prætorial office was a

sufficient qualification for him to resume his seat. Dion. l. xxxvii.

Rome two ambassadors from the Allobroges, a nation that had been much oppressed by the Romans, and was very impatient under their yoke. Lentulus and his party thought these ambassadors proper persons to raise commotions in Gaul, and bring that country to their interest, and therefore made them partners in the conspiracy. They likewise charged them with letters to their magistrates and to Catiline. To the Gauls they promised liberty, and they desired Catiline to enfranchise the slaves, and march immediately to Rome. Along with the ambassadors they sent one Titus of Crotona to carry the letters to Catiline. But the measures of these inconsiderate men, who generally consulted upon their affairs over their wine and in company with women, were soon discovered by the indefatigable diligence, the sober address, and great capacity of Cicero. He had his emissaries in all parts of the city, to trace every step they took; and had, besides, a secret correspondence with many who pretended to join in the conspiracy; by which means he got intelligence of their treating with those strangers.

In consequence hereof, he laid an ambush for the Crotonian in the night, and seized him and the letters; the ambassadors themselves privately lending him their assistance.¹ Early in the morning he assembled the senate in the temple of *Concord*, where he read the letters, and took the depositions of the witnesses. Junius Silanus deposed, that several persons had heard Cethegus say, that three consuls and four prætors would very soon be killed. The evidence of Piso, a man of consular dignity, contained circumstances of the like nature. And Caius Sulpitius, one of the prætors, who was sent to Cethegus's house, found there a great quantity of javelins, swords, poniards, and other arms, all new furbished. At last, the senate giving the Crotonian a promise of indemnity, Lentulus saw himself entirely detected, and laid down his office (for he was then prætor): he put off his purple robe in the house, and took another more suitable to his present distress. Upon which, both he and his accomplices were delivered to the prætors, to be kept in custody, but not in chains.

By this time it grew late, and as the people were waiting about in great numbers for the event of the day, Cicero went out and gave them an account of it. After which, they conducted him to the house of a friend who lived in his neighbourhood; his own being taken up with the women, who were then employed in the mysterious rites of the goddess whom the Romans call *Bona* or the *Good*, and the Greeks *Gynæcea*. An annual sacrifice is offered her in the consul's house by his wife and mother, and the vestal virgins give their attendance. When Cicero was retired to the apartments assigned for him, with only a few friends, he began to consider what punishment he should inflict upon the criminals. He was

¹ These ambassadors had been solicited by Umbrenus to join his party. Upon mature deliberation they thought it safest

to abide by the state, and discovered the plot to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their nation.

extremely loath to proceed to a capital one, which the nature of their offence seemed to demand, as well by reason of the mildness of his disposition, as for fear of incurring the censure of making an extravagant and severe use of his power against men who were of the first families, and had powerful connections in Rome. On the other side, if he gave them a more gentle chastisement, he thought he should still have something to fear from them. He knew that they would never rest with anything less than death; but would rather break out into the most desperate villanies, when their former wickedness was sharpened with anger and resentment. Besides, he might himself be branded with the marks of timidity and weakness, and the rather because he was generally supposed not to have much courage.

Before Cicero could come to a resolution, the women who were sacrificing observed an extraordinary presage. When the fire on the altar seemed to be extinguished, a strong and bright flame suddenly broke out of the embers. The other women were terrified at the prodigy, but the vestal virgins ordered Terentia, Cicero's wife, to go to him immediately, and command him, from them, "Boldly to follow his best judgment in the service of his country; because the goddess, by the brightness of this flame, promised him not only safety but glory in his enterprise." *Terentia was by no means of a meek and kind disposition, but had her ambition, and (as Cicero himself says) took a greater share with him in politics than she permitted him to have in domestic business.* She now informed him of the prodigy, and exasperated him against the criminals. His brother Quintus, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical friends, whom he made great use of in the administration, strengthened him in the same purpose.

Next day the senate met to deliberate on the punishment of the conspirators, and Silanus, being first asked his opinion, gave it for sending them to prison, and punishing them in the severest manner that was possible. *The rest in their order agreed with him, till it came to Caius Cæsar, who was afterwards dictator. Cæsar, then a young man, and just in the dawn of power, both in his measures and his hopes, was taking that road which he continued in, till he turned the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy.* This was not observed by others, but Cicero had strong suspicions of him. He took care, however, not to give him a sufficient handle against him. Some say the consul had almost got the necessary proofs, and that Cæsar had a narrow escape. Others assert that Cicero purposely neglected the informations that might have been had against him, for fear of his friends and his great interest. For, had Cæsar been brought under the same predicament with the conspirators, it would rather have contributed to save than to destroy them.

When it came to his turn to give judgment, he rose and declared, "Not for punishing them capitally, but for confiscating their estates, and lodging them in any of the towns of Italy that Cicero should pitch upon, where they might be kept in chains till Catiline was

conquered."¹ To this opinion, which was on the merciful side, *and supported with great eloquence by him who gave it*, Cicero himself added no small weight; for in his speech he gave the arguments at large for both opinions, first for the former, and afterwards for that of Cæsar. And all Cicero's friends, thinking it would be less invidious for him to avoid putting the criminals to death, were for the latter sentence; insomuch that even Silanus changed sides, and excused himself by saying that he did not mean capital punishment, for that *imprisonment was the severest which a Roman senator could suffer*.

The matter thus went on till it came to Lutatius Catulus. He declared for capital punishment; and Cato supported him, expressing in strong terms his suspicions of Cæsar; which so roused the spirit and indignation of the senate, that they made a decree for sending the conspirators to execution. Cæsar then opposed the confiscating their goods; for he said it was unreasonable, when they rejected the mild part of his sentence, to adopt the severe. As the majority still insisted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, indeed, did not put in their prohibition, but Cicero himself gave up the point, and agreed that the goods should not be forfeited.

After this, Cicero went at the head of the senate to the criminals, who were not all lodged in one house, but in those of the several prætors. First he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill, and led him down the *Via Sacra*, and through the middle of the *forum*. The principal persons in Rome attended the consul on all sides, like a guard; the people stood silent at the horror of the scene; and the youth looked on with fear and astonishment, as if they were initiated that day in some awful ceremonies of aristocratic power. When he had passed the *forum*, and was come to the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the executioner. Afterwards he brought Cethegus, and all the rest in their order, and they were put to death. In his return he saw others who were in the conspiracy standing thick in the *forum*. As these knew not the fate of their ring-leaders, they were waiting for night, in order to go to their rescue, for they supposed them yet alive. Cicero, therefore, called out to them aloud, *They did live. The Romans, who choose to avoid all inauspicious words, in this manner express death*.

By this time it grew late, and as he passed through the *forum* to go to his own house, the people now did not conduct him in a silent and orderly manner, but crowded to hail him with loud acclamations and plaudits, calling him *the saviour and second founder of Rome*. *The streets were illuminated² with a multitude of lamps and torches placed by the doors. The women held out lights from the tops of the houses, that they might behold, and pay a proper com-*

¹ Plutarch seems here to intimate, that after the defeat of Catiline, they might be put upon their trial; but it appears from Sallust that Cæsar had no such intention.

² Illuminations are of high antiquity. They came originally from the nocturnal celebration of religious mysteries; and on that account carried the idea of veneration and respect with them.

pliment to the man who was followed with solemnity by a train of the greatest men in Rome, most of whom had distinguished themselves by successful wars, led up triumphs, and enlarged the empire both by sea and land. All these, in their discourse with each other as they went along, acknowledged that Rome was indebted to many generals and great men of that age for pecuniary acquisitions, for rich spoils for power ; but for preservation and safety to Cicero alone, who had rescued her from so great and dreadful a danger. Not that his quashing the enterprise, and punishing the delinquents, appeared so extraordinary a thing ; but the wonder was, that he could suppress the greatest conspiracy that ever existed, with so little inconvenience to the state, without the least sedition or tumult. For many who had joined Catiline left him on receiving intelligence of the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus ; and that traitor, giving Antony battle with the troops that remained, was destroyed with his whole army.

Yet some were displeased with this conduct and success of Cicero, and inclined to do him all possible injury. At the head of this faction were some of the magistrates for the ensuing year ; Cæsar, who was to be prætor, and Metellus and Bestia, tribunes.¹ These last, entering upon their office a few days before that of Cicero's expired, would not suffer him to address the people. They placed their own benches on the *rostra*, and only gave him permission to take the oath upon laying down his office,² after which he was to descend immediately. Accordingly, when Cicero went up it was expected that he would take the customary oath ; but silence being made, instead of the usual form, he adopted one that was new and singular. The purport of it was, that "*He had saved his country, and preserved the empire ;*" and all the people joined in it.

This exasperated Cæsar and the tribunes still more, and they endeavoured to create him new troubles. Among other things they proposed a decree for calling Pompey home with his army to suppress the despotic power of Cicero. It was happy for him, and for the whole commonwealth, that Cato was then one of the tribunes ; for he opposed them with an authority equal to theirs, and a reputation that was much greater, and consequently broke their measures with ease. He made a set speech upon Cicero's consulship, and represented it in so glorious a light that the highest honours were decreed him, and he was called *the father of his country* ; a mark of distinction which none ever gained before. Cato bestowed that title on him before the people, and they confirmed it.³

His authority in Rome at that time was undoubtedly great ; but *he rendered himself obnoxious and burdensome to many, not by any ill action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself.*

¹ Bestia went out of office on the 8th of December. Metellus and Sextilius were tribunes.

² The consuls took two oaths : one, on entering into their office, that they would act according to the laws ; and the other,

on quitting it, that they had not acted contrary to the laws.

³ Q. Cains was the first who gave him the title. Cato, as tribune, confirmed it before the people.

He never entered the senate, the assembly of the people, or the courts of judicature but Catiline and Lentulus were the burden of his song. Not satisfied with this, his writings were so interlarded with encomiums on himself, that though his style was elegant and delightful, his discourses were disgusting and nauseous to the reader; for the blemish stuck to him like an incurable disease.

But though he had such an insatiable avidity for honour, he was never unwilling that others should have their share. For *he was entirely free from envy*; and it appears from his works that he was most liberal in his praises, not only of the ancients, but of those of his own time. Many of his remarkable sayings, too, of this nature, are preserved. Thus of Aristotle he said, "That he was a river of flowing gold; and of Plato's Dialogues, "That if Jupiter were to speak, he would speak as he did." Theophrastus he used to call his "particular favourite;" and being asked which of Demosthenes' orations he thought the best, he answered "*The longest*." Some who affect to be zealous admirers of that orator, complain, indeed, of Cicero's saying in one of his epistles, "That Demosthenes sometimes nodded in his orations;" but they forget the many great encomiums he bestowed on him in other parts of his works; and do not consider that he gave the title of *Philippics* to his orations against Mark Antony, which were the most elaborate he ever wrote. There was not one of his contemporaries celebrated either for his eloquence or philosophy, whose fame he did not promote, either by speaking or writing of him in an advantageous manner. He persuaded Cæsar, when dictator, to grant Cratippus the Peripatetic, the freedom of Rome. He likewise prevailed upon the council of Areopagus to make out an order for desiring him to remain at Athens to instruct the youth, and not deprive their city of such an ornament. There are, moreover, letters of Cicero's to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he directs them to study philosophy under Cratippus. But he accuses Gorgias the rhetorician of accustoming his son to a life of pleasure and intemperance, and therefore forbids the young man his society. Amongst his Greek letters, this, and another to Pelops the Byzantine, are all that discover anything of resentment. His reprimand to Gorgias certainly was right and proper, if he was the dissolute man that he passed for; but he betrays an excessive meanness in his expostulations with Pelops, for neglecting to procure him certain honours from the city of Byzantium.

These were the effects of his vanity. Superior keenness of expression, too, which he had at command, led him into many violations of decorum. He pleaded for Munatius in a certain cause; and his client was acquitted in consequence of his defence. Afterwards Munatius prosecuted Sabinus, one of Cicero's friends; upon which he was so much transported with anger as to say, "Thinkest thou it was the merit of thy cause that saved thee, and not rather the cloud which I threw over thy crimes, and which kept them from the sight of the court?" He had succeeded in an *ecomium* on Marcus Crassus from the *rostrum*: and a few days

after as publicly reproached him. "What!" said Crassus, "did you not lately praise me in the place where you now stand?" "True:" answered Cicero, "but I did it by way of experiment, to see what I could make of a bad subject." Crassus had once affirmed, that none of his family ever lived above threescore years; but afterwards wanted to contradict it, and said, "What could I have been thinking of when I asserted such a thing!" "You knew," said Cicero, "that such an assertion would be very agreeable to the people of Rome." Crassus happened one day to profess himself much pleased with that maxim of the Stoics, "The good man is always rich."¹ "I imagine," said Cicero, "there is another more agreeable unto you, *All things belong to the prudent.*" For Crassus was notoriously covetous. Crassus had two sons, one of which resembled a man called Accius so much that his mother was suspected of an intrigue with him. This young man spoke in the senate with great applause; and Cicero being asked what he thought of him, answered in Greek, *axios Crasson.*² When Crassus was going to set out for Syria, he thought it better to leave Cicero his friend than his enemy: and therefore addressed him one day in an obliging manner, and told him he would come and sup with him. Cicero accepted the offer with equal politeness. A few days after, Vatinius likewise applied to him by his friends, and desired a reconciliation. "What!" said Cicero, "does Vatinius too want to sup with me?" Such were his jests upon Crassus. Vatinius had scrofulous tumours in his neck; and one day when he was pleading, Cicero called him "a tumid orator." An account was once brought Cicero that Vatinius was dead, which being afterwards contradicted, he said, "May vengeance seize the tongue that told the lie!" When Cæsar proposed a decree for distributing the lands in Campania among the soldiers, many of the senators were displeased at it; and Lucius Gellius, in particular, who was one of the oldest of them, said, "That shall never be while I live." "Let us wait awhile, then," said Cicero; "for Gellius requires no very long credit." There was one Octavius, who had it objected to him that he was an African. One day when Cicero was pleading, this man said he could not hear him. "That is somewhat strange," said Cicero; "for you are not without a hole in your ear."³ When Metellus Nepos told him, "That he had ruined more as an evidence than he had saved as an advocate:" "I grant it," said Cicero, "for I have more truth than eloquence." A young man, who lay under the imputation of having given his father a poisoned cake, talking in an insolent manner, and threatening that Cicero should feel the weight of his reproaches, Cicero

¹ πάντα εἶναι τοῦ σοφοῦ. The Greek σοφός signifies cunning, shrewd, prudent, as well as wise; and in any of the former significations the stoic maxim was applicable to Crassus. The phrase, in Latin, is used indifferently either for saving prudence, or for sober wisdom.

² An ill-mannered pun, which signifies either that the young man was worthy of Crassus, or that he was the son of Accius.

³ A mark of slavery amongst some nations; but the Africans wore pendants in their ears by way of ornament.

answered, "I had much rather have them than your cake." Publius Sestius had taken Cicero, among others, for his advocate, in a cause of some importance; and yet he would suffer no man to speak but himself. When it appeared that he would be acquitted, and the judges were giving their verdict, Cicero called to him, and said, "Sestius, make the best use of your time to-day, for to-morrow you will be out of office."¹ Publius Cotta, who affected to be thought an able lawyer, though he had neither learning nor capacity, being called in as a witness in a certain cause, declared, "He knew nothing of the matter." "Perhaps," said Cicero, "you think I am asking you some question in law." Metellus Nepos, in some difference with Cicero, often asking him, "Who is your father?" he replied, "Your mother has made it much more difficult for you to answer that question." For his mother had not the most unsullied reputation. This Metellus was himself a man of a light unbalanced mind. He suddenly quitted the tribunitial office, and sailed to Pompey in Syria; and when he was there, he returned in a manner still more absurd. When his preceptor Philagrus died, he buried him in a pompous manner, and placed the figure of a crow in marble on his monument.² "This," said Cicero, "was one of the wisest things you ever did: for your preceptor has taught you rather to fly than to speak."³ Marcus Appius having mentioned, in the introduction to one of his pleadings, that his friend had desired him to try every source of care, eloquence, and fidelity in his cause, Cicero said, "What a hard-hearted man you are, not to do any one thing that your friend has desired of you?"

It seems not foreign to the business of an orator to use this cutting railery against enemies or opponents; but his employing it indiscriminately, merely to raise a laugh, rendered him extremely obnoxious. To give a few instances: He used to call Marcus Aquilius *Adrastus*, because he had two sons-in-law who were both in exile.⁴ Lucius Cotta, a great lover of wine, was censor when Cicero solicited the consulship. Cicero, in the course of his canvass, happening to be thirsty, called for water, and said to his friends who stood round him as he drank, "You do well to conceal me, for you are afraid that the censor will call me to account for drinking water." Meeting Voconius one day with three daughters, who were very plain women, he cried out:

On this conception Phœbus never smiled.⁵

Marcus Gellius, who was supposed to be of servile extraction, happened to read some letters in the senate with a loud and strong voice, "Do not be surprised at it," said Cicero, "for there have

¹ Probably Sestius, not being a professed advocate, would not be employed to speak for any body else; and therefore Cicero meant that he should indulge his vanity in speaking for himself.

² It was usual among the ancients to place emblematic figures on the monuments of the dead; and these were either such instruments as represented the pro-

fession of the deceased, or such animals as resembled them in disposition.

³ Alluding to the celerity of his expectations.

⁴ Because *Adrastus* had married his daughters to *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, who were exiled.

⁵ A verse of *Apophœus* speaking of *Laius* the father of *Philippus*.

been public criers in his family." Faustus, the son of Sylla the dictator, who had proscribed great numbers of Romans having run deep in debt, and wasted great part of his estate, was obliged to put up public bills for the sale of it. Upon which Cicero said, "I like these bills much better than his father's."

Many hated him for those keen sarcasms, which encouraged Clodius and his faction to form their schemes against him. Clodius, who was of a noble family, young and adventurous, entertained a passion for Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar. This induced him to get privately into the house, which he did in the habit of a female musician. The women were offering in Cæsar's house that mysterious sacrifice which is kept from the sight and knowledge of men. But, though no man is suffered to assist in it, Clodius, who was very young, and had his face yet smooth, hoped to pass through the women to Pompeia undiscovered. As he entered a great house in the night, he was puzzled to find his way; and one of the women belonging to Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, seeing him wandering up and down, asked him his name. Being now forced to speak, he said he was seeking Abra, one of Pompeia's maids. The woman, perceiving it was not a female voice, shrieked out, and called the matrons together. They immediately made fast the doors, and searching the whole house, found Clodius skulking in the apartment of the maid who introduced him.

As the affair made a great noise, Cæsar divorced Pompeia, and prosecuted Clodius for that act of impiety. Cicero was at that time his friend; for during the conspiracy of Catiline, he had been ready to give him all the assistance in his power; and even attended as one of his guards. Clodius insisted, in his defence, that he was not then at Rome, but at a considerable distance in the country. But Cicero attested that he came that very day to his house, and talked with him about some particular business. This was, indeed, matter of fact; yet probably it was not so much the influence of truth, as the necessity of satisfying his wife Terentia, that induced him to declare it. She hated Clodius on account of his sister Clodia; for she was persuaded that that lady wanted to get Cicero for her husband; and that she managed the design by one Tullus. As Tullus was an intimate friend of Cicero's, and likewise constantly paid his court to Clodia, who was his neighbour, that circumstance strengthened her suspicions. Besides, Terentia was a woman of an imperious temper, and having an ascendant over her husband, she put him upon giving evidence against Clodius. Many other persons of honour alleged against him the crimes of perjury, of fraud, of bribing the people, and corrupting the women. Nay, Lucullus brought his maid-servants to prove that Clodius had a criminal commerce with his own sister, who was the wife of that nobleman. This was the youngest of the sisters. And it was generally believed that he had connections of the same kind with his other sisters; one of which, named Tertia, was married to Martius Rex; and the other, Clodia, to Metellus Celer. The latter was called *Quadrantaria*, because one of her

lovers palmed upon her a purse of small brass money, instead of silver; the smallest brass coin being called a *quadran*s. It was on this sister's account that Clodius was most censured. As the people set themselves both against the witnesses and the prosecutors, the judges were so terrified that they thought it necessary to place a guard about the court; and most of them confounded the letters upon the tablets. He seemed, however, to be acquitted by the majority; but it was said to be through pecuniary applications. Hence Catulus, when he met the judges, said, "You were right in desiring a guard for your defence; for you were a'raid that somebody would take the money from you." And when Clodius told Cicero that the judges did not give credit to his deposition, "Yes," said he, "five and twenty of them believed me, for so many condemned you; nor did the other thirty believe you, for they did not acquit you till they had received your money." As to Cæsar, when he was called upon, he gave no testimony against Clodius; nor did he affirm that he was certain of any injury done to his bed. He only said, "He had divorced Pompeia, because *the wife of Cæsar ought not only to be clear of such a crime, but of the very suspicion of it.*"

After Clodius had escaped this danger, and was elected tribune of the people, he immediately attacked Cicero, and left neither circumstance nor person untried to ruin him. He gained the people by laws that flattered their inclinations, and the consuls by decreeing them large and wealthy provinces; for Piso was to have Macedonia, and Gabinius Syria. He registered many mean and indigent persons as citizens; and armed a number of slaves for his constant attendants. Of the great triumvirate, Crassus was an avowed enemy to Cicero. Pompey indifferently caressed both parties, and Cæsar was going to set out upon his expedition to Gaul. Though the latter was not his friend, but rather suspected of enmity since the affair of Catiline, it was to him that he applied. The favour he asked of him was, that he would take him as his lieutenant; and Cæsar granted it.¹ Clodius perceiving that Cicero would, by this means, get out of the reach of his tribunitial power, pretended to be inclined to a reconciliation. He threw most of the blame of the late difference on Terentia; and spoke always of Cicero in terms of candour, not like an adversary vindictively inclined, but as one friend might complain of another. This removed Cicero's fears so entirely² that he gave up the lieutenantancy which Cæsar had indulged him with, and began to attend to business as before.

Cæsar was so much piqued at this proceeding, that he encouraged Clodius against him, and drew off Pompey entirely from his interest. He declared, too, before the people, that Cicero, in his opinion, had been guilty of a flagrant violation of all justice and

¹ Cicero says that this lieutenantancy was a voluntary offer of Cæsar's. Ep. ad Att. 1.

² It does not appear that Cicero was influenced by this conduct of Clodius: he

had always expressed an indifference to the lieutenantancy that was offered to him by Cæsar. Ep. ad Att. 1. li. c. 18.

law, in putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, without any form of trial. This was the charge which he was summoned to answer. *Cicero then put on mourning, let his hair grow, and, with every token of distress, went about to supplicate the people.* Clodius took care to meet him everywhere in the streets, with his audacious and insolent crew, who insulted him on his change of dress, and often disturbed his applications by pelting him with dirt and stones. However, *almost all the equestrian order went into mourning with him; and no fewer than 20,000 young men, of the best families, attended him with their hair dishevelled, and entreated the people for him.* Afterwards the senate met, with an intent to decree that the people should change their habits, as in times of public mourning. But as the consuls opposed it, and Clodius beset the house with his armed band of ruffians, many of the senators ran out, rending their garments and exclaiming against the outrage.

But this spectacle excited neither compassion nor shame; and it appeared that Cicero must either go into exile, or decide the dispute with the sword. In this extremity he applied to Pompey for assistance; but he had purposely absented himself, and remained at his Alban villa. Cicero first sent his son-in-law Piso to him, and afterwards went himself. When Pompey was informed of his arrival, he could not bear to look him in the face. He was confounded at the thought of an interview with his injured friend, who had fought such battles for him, and rendered him so many services in the course of his administration. But being now son-in-law to Cæsar, he sacrificed his former obligations to that connection, and went out at a back door, to avoid his presence.

Cicero, thus betrayed and deserted, had recourse to the consuls. Gabinius always treated him rudely; but Piso behaved with some civility. He advised him to withdraw from the torrent of Clodius's rage; to bear this change of the times with patience; and to be once more the saviour of his country, which, for his sake, was in all this trouble and commotion.

After this answer, Cicero consulted with his friends. Lucullus advised him to stay, and assured him he would be victorious. Others were of opinion that it was best to fly because the people would soon be desirous of his return, when they were weary of the extravagance and madness of Clodius. He approved of this last advice; and taking a statue of Minerva, which he had long kept in his house with great devotion, he carried it to the Capitol, and dedicated it there, with this inscription: TO MINERVA THE PROTECTRESS OF ROME. About midnight he privately quitted the city; and, with some friends who attended to conduct him, took his route on foot through Lucania, intending to pass from thence to Sicily.

It was no sooner known that he was fled than *Clodius procured a decree of banishment against him, which prohibited him fire and water, and admission into any house within 500 miles of Italy.* But such was the veneration the people had for Cicero, that in general there was no regard paid to the decree. They showed him

every sort of civility, and conducted him on his way with the most cordial attention. Only at Hipponium, a city of Lucania, now called Vibo, one Vibius, a native of Sicily, who had particular obligations to him, and, among other things, had an appointment under him, when consul, as surveyor of the works, now refused to admit him into his house ; but at the same time, acquainted him that he would appoint a place in the country for his reception. And Caius Virginius,¹ the prætor of Sicily, though indebted to Cicero for considerable services, wrote to forbid him entrance into that island.

Discouraged at these instances of ingratitude, he repaired to Brundisium, where he embarked for Dyrrhachium. At first he had a favourable gale, but the next day the wind turned about, and drove him back to port. He set sail, however, again, as soon as the wind was fair. It is reported, that when he was going to land at Dyrrachium, there happened to be an earthquake, and the sea retired to a great distance from the shore. The diviners inferred that his exile would be of no long continuance, for these were tokens of a sudden change. Great numbers of people came to pay their respects to him ; and the cities of Greece strove which should show him the greatest civilities ; yet he continued dejected and disconsolate. Like a passionate lover, he often cast a longing look towards Italy, and behaved with a littleness of spirit which could not have been expected from a man that had enjoyed such opportunities of cultivation from letters and philosophy. Nay, he had often desired his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had made philosophy his business, and rhetoric only the instrument of his political operations. But opinion has great power to efface the tinctures of philosophy, and infuse the passions of the vulgar into the minds of statesmen, who have a necessary connection and commerce with the multitude : unless they take care so to engage in everything extrinsic as to attend to the business only, without imbibing the passions that are the common consequences of that business.

After Clodius had banished Cicero, he burned his villas, and his house in Rome ; and on the place where the latter stood, erected a temple to Liberty. *His goods he put up to auction, and the crier gave notice of it every day, but no buyer appeared.* By these means, he became formidable to the patricians ; and having drawn the people with him into the most audacious insolence and effrontery, he attacked Pompey, and called in question some of his acts and ordinances in the wars. As this exposed Pompey to some reflections, he blamed himself greatly for abandoning Cicero ; and, entirely changing his plan, took every means for effecting his return. As Clodius constantly opposed them, the senate decreed that no public business of any kind should be despatched by their body till Cicero was recalled.

In the consulship of Lentulus the sedition increased ; some of

¹Some copies have it *Virgilius*.

the tribunes were wounded in the *forum*; and Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was left for dead among the slain. The people began now to change their opinion; and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to call Clodius to answer for his violation of the public peace. Many of the people of Rome, and of the neighbouring cities, joined Pompey; with whose assistance he drove Clodius out of the *forum*; and then he summoned the citizens to vote. It is said that nothing was ever carried among the commons with so great unanimity; and the senate, endeavouring to give still higher proofs of their attachment to Cicero, decreed that their thanks should be given the cities which had treated him with kindness and respect during his exile, and that *his town and country houses, which Clodius had demolished, should be rebuilt at the public charge.*¹

Cicero returned sixteen months after his banishment; and such joy was expressed by the cities, so much eagerness to meet him by all ranks of people, that his own account of it is less than the truth, though he said, "*That Italy had brought him on her shoulders to Rome.*" Crassus, who was his enemy, before his exile, now readily went to meet him, and was reconciled. In this, he said, he was willing to oblige his son Publius, who was a great admirer of Cicero.

Not long after his return, Cicero, taking his opportunity when Clodius was absent,² went up with a great company to the Capitol, and destroyed the tribunitial tables, in which were recorded all the acts in Clodius's time. Clodius loudly complained of this proceeding; but Cicero answered, "That his appointment as tribune was irregular, because he was of a patrician family, and consequently all his acts were invalid." Cato was displeased, and opposed Cicero in this assertion. Not that he praised Clodius; on the contrary, he was extremely offended at his administration; but he represented, "That it would be a violent stretch of prerogative for the senate to annul so many decrees and acts, among which was his own commission and his regulations at Cyprus and Byzantium." The difference which this produced between Cato and Cicero did not come to an absolute rupture, it only lessened the warmth of their friendship.

After this Milo killed Clodius; and being arraigned for the fact, he chose Cicero for his advocate. The senate fearing that the prosecution of a man of Milo's spirit and reputation might produce some tumult in the city, appointed Pompey to preside at this and the other trials; and to provide both for the peace of the city and the courts of justice. In consequence of which, he posted a body of soldiers in the *forum* before day, and secured every part of it. This made Milo apprehensive that Cicero would be dis-

¹ The consuls decreed for rebuilding his house in Rome near £11,000; for his Tuscan villa near £3,000; and for his F. rulan villa about half that sum, which Cicero called a very scanty estimate

² Cicero had attempted this once before, when Clodius was present; but Cato, the brother of Clodius, being prætor, by his means they were rescued out of the hands of Cicero.

concerted at so unusual a sight, and less able to plead. He therefore persuaded him to come in a litter to the *forum*; and to repose himself there till the judges were assembled, and the court filled: for *he was not only timid in war, but he had his fears when he spoke in public; and in many causes he scarce left trembling even in the height and vehemence of his eloquence.* When he undertook to assist in the defence of Licinius Murena,¹ against the prosecution of Cato, he was ambitious to outdo Hortensius, who had already spoken with great applause; for which reason he sat up all night to prepare himself. But that watching and application hurt him so much that he appeared inferior to his rival.

When he came out of the litter to open the cause of Milo, and saw Pompey seated on high, as in a camp, and weapons glistening all around the *forum*, he was so confounded that he could scarce begin his oration. For he shook, and his tongue faltered; though Milo attended the trial with great courage, and had disdained to let his hair grow, or to put on mourning. These circumstances contributed not a little to his condemnation. As for Cicero, his trembling was imputed rather to his anxiety for his friend than to any particular timidity.

Cicero was appointed one of the priests called Augurs, in the room of young Crassus, who was killed in the Parthian war. Afterwards the province of Cilicia was allotted to him; and he sailed thither with an army of 12,000 foot, and 2,600 horse. He had it in charge to bring Cappadocia to submit to king Ariobarzanes: which he performed to the satisfaction of all parties, without having recourse to arms. And finding the Cilicians elated on the miscarriage of the Romans in Parthia, and the commotions in Syria, he brought them to order by the gentleness of his government. *He refused the presents which the neighbouring princes offered him. He excused the province from finding him a public table, and daily entertained at his own charge persons of honour and learning, not with magnificence indeed, but with elegance and propriety. He had no porter at his gate, nor did any man ever find him in bed; for he rose early in the morning, and kindly received those who came to pay their court to him, either standing or walking before his door. We are told, that he never caused any man to be beaten with rods, or to have his garments rent;² never gave opprobrious language in his anger, nor added insult to punishment. He recovered the public money which had been embezzled; and enriched the cities with it.* At the same time he was satisfied, if those who had been guilty of such frauds made restitution, and fixed no mark of infamy upon them.

He had also a taste of war; for he routed the bands of robbers that had possessed themselves of Mount Amanus, and was saluted

¹ Murena had retained three advocates, Hortensius, Marcus Crassus, and Cicero.

² This mark of ignominy was of great antiquity. "Whosoever Manum took

David's servants, and shav'd off our hal of their beards, and cut off their garments in the middle, even to their buttocks, we sent them away." 2 Sam. x. 4

by his army *Imperator* on that account.¹ Cæcilius,² the orator, having desired him to send him some panthers from Cilicia for his games at Rome, in his answer he could not forbear boasting of his achievements. He said, "There were no panthers left in Cilicia. Those animals, in their vexation to find that they were the only objects of war, while everything else was at peace, were fled into Caria."

In his return from his province he stopped at Rhodes, and afterwards made some stay at Athens; which he did with great pleasure, in remembrance of the conversations he had formerly had there. He had now the company of all that were most famed for erudition; and visited his former friends and acquaintance. After he had received all due honours and marks of esteem from Greece, he passed on to Rome, where he found the fire of dissension kindled, and everything tending to a civil war.

When the senate decreed him a triumph, he said, "He had rather follow Cæsar's chariot-wheels in his triumph, if a reconciliation could be effected between him and Pompey." And in private he tried every healing and conciliating method, by writing to Cæsar, and entreating Pompey. After it came to an open rupture, and Cæsar was on his march to Rome, Pompey did not choose to wait for him, but retired, with numbers of the principal citizens in his train. Cicero did not attend him in his flight; and therefore it was believed that he would join Cæsar. It is certain that he fluctuated greatly in his opinion, and was in the utmost anxiety. For, he says in his epistles, "Whither shall I turn? Pompey has the more honourable cause; but Cæsar manages his affairs with the greatest address, and is most able to save himself and his friends. In short, I know whom to avoid, but not whom to seek." At last, one Trebatius, a friend of Cæsar's, signified to him by letter, that Cæsar thought he had reason to reckon him of his side, and to consider him as partner of his hopes. But if his age would not permit it, he might retire into Greece, and live there in tranquillity, without any connection with either party. Cicero was surprised that Cæsar did not write himself, and answered angrily, "That he would do nothing unworthy of his political character." Such is the account we have of the matter in his Epistles.

However, upon Cæsar's marching from Spain, he crossed the sea, and repaired to Pompey. His arrival was agreeable to the generality; but Cato blamed him privately for taking this measure. "As for me," said he, "it would have been wrong to leave that party which I embraced from the beginning; but you might have been much more serviceable to your country and your friends, if you had stayed at Rome, and accommodated yourself to events; whereas now, without any reason or necessity, you have declared

¹ He not only received this mark of distinction, but public thanksgivings were ordered at Rome for his success; and the people went near to decree him a triumph. His services, therefore, must have been

considerable, and Plutarch seems to mention them too slightly.

² Not Cæcilius, but Cælius. He was then exile, and wanted the panthers for his public shows.

yourself an enemy to Cæsar, and are come to share in the danger with which you had nothing to do."

These arguments made Cicero change his opinion ; especially when he found that Pompey did not employ him upon any considerable service. It is true, no one was to be blamed for this but himself ; for he made no secret of his repenting. He disparaged Pompey's preparations ; he insinuated his dislike of his counsels, and never spared his jests upon his allies. *He was not, indeed, inclined to laugh himself ; on the contrary, he walked about the camp with a very solemn countenance ; but he often made others laugh, though they were little inclined to it.* Perhaps it may not be amiss to give a few instances. When Domitius advanced a man who had no turn for war to the rank of Captain, and assigned for his reason, that he was an honest and prudent man ; "Why, then," said Cicero, "do you not keep him for governor to your children ?" When some were commending Theopanes the Lesbian, who was director of the board of works, for consoling the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet, "See," said Cicero, "what it is to have a Grecian director !" When Cæsar was successful in almost every instance, and held Pompey as it were besieged, Lentulus said, "He was informed that Cæsar's friends looked very sour." "You mean, I suppose," said Cicero, "that they are out of humour with him." One Martius, newly arrived from Italy, told them a report prevailed at Rome that Pompey was blocked up in his camp : "Then," said Cicero, "you took a voyage on purpose to see it." After Pompey's defeat, Nonnius said, "There was room yet for hope, for there were seven eagles left in the camp." Cicero answered, "That would be good encouragement, if we were to fight with jackdaws." When Labienus, on the strength of some oracles, insisted that Pompey must be conqueror at last : "By this oracular generalship," said Cicero, "we have lost our camp."

After the battle of Pharsalia (in which he was not present, on account of his ill health), and after the flight of Pompey, Cato, who had considerable forces, and a great fleet at Dyrrachium, desired Cicero to take the command, because his consular dignity gave him a legal title to it. Cicero, however, not only declined it, but absolutely refused taking any farther share in the war. Upon which, young Pompey and his friends called him traitor, drew their swords, and would certainly have despatched him, had not Cato interposed, and conveyed him out of the camp.

He got safe to Brundisium, and stayed there some time in expectation of Cæsar, who was detained by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. When he heard that the conqueror was arrived at Tarentum, and designed to proceed from thence by land to Brundisium, he set out to meet him ; not without hope, nor yet without some shame and reluctance at the thought of trying how he stood in the opinion of a victorious enemy before so many witnesses. He had no occasion, however, either to do or to say anything beneath his dignity. Cæsar no sooner beheld him, at some considerable distance, advancing before the rest, than he dismounted, and ran to

embrace him ; after which, he went on discoursing with him alone for many furlongs. He continued to treat him with great kindness and respect ; insomuch, that when he had written an encomium on Cato, which bore the name of that great man, Cæsar, in his answer, entitled *Anticato*, praised both the eloquence and conduct of Cicero ; and said he greatly resembled Pericles and Themistocles.

When Quintus Ligarius was prosecuted for bearing arms against Cæsar, and Cicero had undertaken to plead his cause, Cæsar is reported to have said, "What, may we not give ourselves a pleasure which we have not enjoyed so long, that of hearing Cicero speak ; since I have already taken my resolution as to Ligarius, who is clearly a bad man, as well as my enemy ?" But he was greatly moved when Cicero began ; and his speech, as it proceeded, had such a variety of pathos, so irresistible a charm, that his colour often changed, and it was evident that his mind was torn with conflicting passions. At last, when the orator touched on the battle of Pharsalia, he was so extremely affected, that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop some papers out of his hand. Thus, conquered by the force of eloquence, he acquitted Ligarius.

The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from the scene of public business, and bestowed his leisure on the young men who were desirous to be instructed in philosophy. As these were of the best families, by his interest with them he once more obtained great authority in Rome, and made it his business to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and to render the Greek terms of logic and natural philosophy in the Roman language. For it is said that he first, or principally, at least, gave Latin terms for these Greek words, *phantasia* [imagination], *syncatathesis* [assent], *epoche* [doubt], *catalepsis* [comprehension], *atomos* [atom], *ameres* [indivisible], *kenon* [void], and many other such terms in science ; contriving either by metaphorical expression, or strict translation, to make them intelligible and familiar to the Romans. His ready turn for poetry afforded him amusement ; for, we are told, when he was intent upon it, he could make five hundred verses in one night. As in this period he spent most of his time at his Tusculan villa, he wrote to his friends, "That he led the life of Laertes ;" either by way of raillery, as his custom was, or from an ambitious desire of public employment, and discontent in his present situation. Be that as it may, he rarely went to Rome, and then only to pay his court to Cæsar. He was always one of the first to vote him additional honours, and forward to say something new of him and his actions. Thus, when Cæsar ordered Pompey's statues, which had been pulled down, to be erected again, Cicero said, "That by this act of humanity in setting up Pompey's statues, he had established his own."

It is reported that he had formed a design to write the history of his own country, in which he would have interwoven many of the Grecian affairs, and inserted not only their speeches, but fables. But he was prevented by many disagreeable circumstances, both

public and private, into most of which he brought himself by his own indiscretion. For, in the first place, he divorced his wife Terentia. The reasons he assigned were, that she had neglected him during the war, and even sent him out without necessaries. Besides, after his return to Italy, she behaved to him with little regard, and did not wait on him during his long stay at Brundisium. Nay, when his daughter, at that time very young, took so long a journey to see him, she allowed her but an indifferent equipage, and insufficient supplies. Indeed, according to his account, his house was become naked and empty through the many debts which she had contracted. These were the most specious pretences for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied all these charges; and Cicero himself made a full apology for her, by marrying a younger woman not long after. Terentia said, he took her merely for her beauty; but his freedman Tyro affirms that he married her for her wealth, that it might enable him to pay his debts. She was, indeed, very rich, and her fortune was in the hands of Cicero, who was left her guardian. As his debts were great, his friends and relations persuaded him to marry the young lady, notwithstanding the disparity of years, and satisfy his creditors out of her fortune.

Antony, in his answer to the Philippics, taxes him with repudiating a wife with whom he was grown old (then 62); and rallies him on account of his perpetual keeping at home, like a man unfit either for business or war. Not long after this match, his daughter Tullia, who, after the death of Piso, had married Lentulus, died in childbed. The philosophers came from all parts to comfort him; for his loss affected him extremely; and he even put away his new bride, because she seemed to rejoice at the death of Tullia. In this posture were Cicero's domestic affairs.

As to those of the public, *he had no share in the conspiracy against Cæsar, though he was one of Brutus's particular friends*; and no man was more uneasy under the new establishment, or more desirous of having the commonwealth restored. Possibly they feared his natural deficiency of courage, as well as his time of life, at which the boldest begin to droop. After the work was done by Brutus and Cassius, the friends of Cæsar assembled to revenge his death; and it was apprehended that Rome would again be plunged in civil wars. *Antony who was consul, ordered a meeting of the senate, and made a short speech on the necessity of union.* But Cicero expatiated in a manner suitable to the occasion; and persuaded the senate, in imitation of the Athenians, to pass a general amnesty as to all that had been done against Cæsar, and to decree provinces to Brutus and Cassius.

None of these things, however, took effect: for the people were inclined to pity on this event; and *when they beheld the dead body of Cæsar carried into the forum, where Antony showed them his robe stained with blood, and pierced on all sides with swords, they broke out into a transport of rage.* They sought all over the forum for the actors in that tragedy, and ran with lighted torches to burn their houses. By their precaution they escaped this danger; but as

they saw others, no less considerable, impending, they left the city.

Antony, elated with this advantage, became formidable to all the opposite party, who supposed that he would aim at nothing less than absolute power ; but Cicero had particular reasons to dread him. For being sensible that Cicero's weight in the administration was established again, and of his strong attachment to Brutus, Antony could hardly bear his presence. Besides, there had long been some jealousy and dislike between them on account of the dissimilarity of their lives. Cicero, fearing the event, was inclined to go with Dolabella into Syria, as his lieutenant. But afterwards Hirtius and Pansa, who were to be consuls after Antony, persons of great merit, and good friends to Cicero, desired him not to leave them ; and promised, with his assistance, to destroy Antony. Cicero, without depending much on their scheme, gave up that of going with Dolabella, and agreed with the consuls-elect to pass the summer in Athens, and return when they entered upon their office.

Accordingly he embarked for that place without taking any principal Roman along with him. But his voyage being accidentally retarded, news was brought from Rome (for he did not choose to be without news) that there was a wonderful change in Antony ; that he took all his steps agreeably to the sense of the senate ; and that nothing but his presence was wanting to bring matters to the best establishment. He therefore condemned his excessive caution, and returned to Rome.

His first hopes were not disappointed. Such crowds came out to meet him, that almost a whole day was spent at the gates, and on his way home, in compliments and congratulations. Next day Antony convened the senate, and sent for Cicero ; but he kept his bed, pretending that he was indisposed with his journey. In reality he seems to have been afraid of assassination, in consequence of some hints he received by the way. Antony was extremely incensed at these suggestions, and ordered a party of soldiers either to bring him, or to burn his house in case of refusal. However, at the request of numbers who interposed, he revoked that order, and bade them only bring a pledge from his house.

After this, when they happened to meet, they passed each other in silence, and lived in mutual distrust. Meantime *young Cæsar*, arriving from Apollonia, put in his claim as heir to his uncle, and sued Antony for 25,000,000 drachmas,¹ which he detained of the estate.

Hereupon Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who was husband to the sister of Octavius, brought him to Cicero. It was agreed between them, that Cicero should assist Cæsar with his eloquence and interest, both with the senate and the people ; and that Cæsar should give Cicero all the protection that his wealth and military influence could afford ; for the young man had already

¹ Plutarch is mistaken in the sum. It appears from Paterculus and others that it was seven times as much.

collected a considerable number of the veterans who had served under his uncle.

Cicero received the offer of his friendship with pleasure. For while Pompey and Cæsar were living, Cicero, it seems, had a dream, in which he thought he called some boys, the sons of senators, up to the Capitol, because Jupiter designed to pitch upon one of them for sovereign of Rome. The citizens ran with all the eagerness of expectation, and placed themselves about the temple; and the boys in their prætextæ sat silent. The doors suddenly opening, the boys rose up one by one, and, in their order, passed round the god, who reviewed them all, and sent them away disappointed: but when Octavius approached, he stretched out his hand to him, and said, "*Romans, this is the person who, when he comes to be your prince, will put an end to your civil wars.*" This vision, they tell us, made such an impression upon Cicero, that he perfectly retained the figure and countenance of the boy though he did not yet know him. Next day he went down to the Campus Martius, when the boys were just returning from their exercises: and the first who struck his eye was the lad in the very form that he had seen in his dream. Astonished at the discovery, Cicero asked him who were his parents; and he proved to be the son of Octavius, a person not much distinguished in life, and of Attia, sister to Cæsar. As he was so near a relation, and Cæsar had no children of his own, he adopted him, and, by will, left him his estate. Cicero, after his dream, whenever he met young Octavius, is said to have treated him with particular regard; and he received those marks of his friendship with great satisfaction. Besides, he happened to be born the same year that Cicero was consul.

These were pretended to be the causes of their present connection. But the leading motive with Cicero was his hatred of Antony; and the next his natural avidity for glory. For he hoped to throw the weight of Octavius into the scale of the commonwealth; and the latter behaved to him with such a puerile deference, that he even called him father. Hence Brutus, in his letters to Atticus, expressed his indignation against Cicero, and said, "That, as through fear of Antony he paid his court to young Cæsar, it was plain that he took not his measures for the liberty of his country, but only to obtain a gentle master for himself." Nevertheless, Brutus finding the son of Cicero at Athens, where he was studying under the philosophers, gave him a command, and employed him upon many services which proved successful.

Cicero's power at this time was at its greatest height; he carried every point that he desired; insomuch that he expelled Antony, and raised such a spirit against him, that the consuls Hirtius and Pansa were sent to give him battle; and Cicero likewise prevailed upon the senate to grant Cæsar the fasces, with the dignity of prætor, as one that was fighting for his country.

Antony, indeed, was beaten; but both the consuls falling in the action, the troops ranged themselves under the banners of Cæsar. The senate now fearing the views of a young man who was so much

favoured by fortune, endeavoured by honours and gifts to draw his forces from him and to diminish his power. They alleged, that, as Antony was put to flight, there was no need to keep such an army on foot. Cæsar, alarmed at these vigorous measures, privately sent some friends to entreat and persuade Cicero to procure the consulship for them both ; promising, at the same time, that he should direct all affairs according to his better judgment, and find him perfectly tractable, who was but a youth, and had no ambition for anything but the title and the honour. Cæsar himself acknowledged afterwards, that, in his apprehensions of being entirely ruined and deserted, he seasonably availed himself of Cicero's ambition, persuaded him to stand for the consulship, and undertook to support his application with his whole interest.

In this case particularly, Cicero, old as he was, suffered himself to be imposed upon by this young man, solicited the people for him, and brought the senate into his interest. His friends blamed him for it at the time ; and it was not long before he was sensible that *he had ruined himself, and given up the liberties of his country : for Cæsar was no sooner strengthened with the consular authority, than he gave up Cicero ;¹ and reconciling himself to Antony and Lepidus, he united his power with theirs, and divided the empire among them, as if it had been a private estate.* At the same time they proscribed about two hundred persons whom they had pitched upon for a sacrifice. The greatest difficulty and dispute was about the proscription of Cicero ; for Antony would come to no terms till he was first taken off. Lepidus agreed with Antony in this preliminary, but Cæsar opposed them both. They had a private congress for these purposes near the city of Bononia, which lasted three days. The place where they met was over against their camps, a little island in the river. Cæsar is said to have contended for Cicero the two first days ; but the third he gave him up. The sacrifices on each part were these ; Cæsar was to abandon Cicero to his fate ; Lepidus, his brother Paulus ; and Antony, Lucius Cæsar, his uncle by the mother's side. *Thus rage and rancour entirely stifled in them all sentiments of humanity ; or more properly speaking, they showed that no beast is more savage than man, when he is possessed of power equal to his passion.*

While his enemies were thus employed, Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, and his brother Quintus with him. When they were informed of the proscription, they determined to remove to Astyra, a country-house of Cicero's near the sea ; where they intended to take a ship, and repair to Brutus in Macedonia ; for it was reported that he was already very powerful in those parts. They were carried in their separate litters, oppressed with sorrow and despair ; and often joining their litters on the road. Quintus was the more dejected, because he was in want of necessaries ; for, as he said, he had brought nothing from home with him. Cicero, too, had but a slender provision. They concluded, therefore, that

¹ Instead of taking him for his colleague, he chose Quintus Pællius

it would be best for Cicero to hasten his flight, and for Quintus to return to his house, and get some supplies. This resolution being fixed upon, they embraced each other with every expression of sorrow, and then parted.

A few days after, Quintus and his son were betrayed by his servants to the assassins who came in quest of them, and lost their lives. As for Cicero, he was carried to Astyra; where, finding a vessel, he immediately went on board, and coasted along to Circæum with a favourable wind. The pilots were preparing immediately to sail from thence; but whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet given up all his hopes in Cæsar, he disembarked, and travelled a hundred furlongs on foot, as if Rome had been the place of his destination. Repenting, however, afterwards he left that road, and made again for the sea. He passed the night in the most perplexing and horrid thoughts; insomuch that he was sometimes inclined to go privately into Cæsar's house and stab himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, to bring the divine vengeance upon his betrayer. But he was deterred from this by the fear of torture. Other alternatives, equally distressful, presented themselves. At last he put himself in the hands of his servants, and ordered them to carry him by sea to Cajeta,¹ where he had a delightful retreat in the summer, when the Etesian winds set in. There was a temple of Apollo on that coast from which a flight of crows came, with great noise, towards Cicero's vessel, as it was making land. They perched on both sides the sail-yard, where some sat croaking and others pecking the ends of the ropes. All looked upon this as an ill omen; yet Cicero went on shore, and, entering his house, lay down to repose himself. In the meantime a number of the crows settled in the chamber-window, and croaked in the most doleful manner. One of them even entered in, and alighting on the bed, attempted with its beak to draw off the clothes with which he had covered his face. On sight of this, the servants began to reproach themselves. "Shall we," said they, "remain to be spectators of our master's murder? Shall we not protect him, so innocent and so great a sufferer as he is, when the brute creatures give him marks of their care and attention?" Then, partly by entreaty, and partly by force, they got him into his litter, and carried him towards the sea.

Meantime the assassins came up. They were commanded by Herennius, a centurion, and Pompilius, a tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended when under a prosecution for parricide. The doors of the house being made fast, they broke them open. Still Cicero did not appear, and the servants who were left behind said they knew nothing of him. But a young man, named Philologus, his brother Quintus's freedman, whom Cicero had instructed in the liberal arts and sciences, informed the tribune that they were carrying the litter through deep shades to the sea-side. The

¹ According to Appian, Cicero was killed near Capua; but Valerius Maximus says, the scene of that tragedy was at Cajeta.

² The north-east winds.

tribune, taking a few soldiers with him, ran to the end of the walk where he was to come out. *But Cicero perceiving that Herennius was hastening after him, ordered his servants to set the litter down; and putting his left hand to his chin, as it was his custom to do, he looked steadfastly upon his murderers. Such an appearance of misery in his face, overgrown with hair, and wasted with anxiety, so much affected the attendants of Herennius that they covered their faces during the melancholy scene. That officer despatched him, while he stretched his neck out of the litter to receive the blow. Thus fell Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Herennius cut off his head, and, by Antony's command, his hands too, with which he had written the Philippics. Such was the title he gave his orations against Antony, and they retain it to this day.*

When these parts of Cicero's body were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an assembly for the election of magistrates. He no sooner beheld them, than he cried out, "Now let there be an end of all proscriptions." *He ordered the head and hands to be fastened up over the rostra, a dreadful spectacle to the Roman people, who thought they did not so much see the face of Cicero, as a picture of Antony's soul. Yet he did one act of justice on this occasion, which was the delivering up Philologus to Pomponia, the wife of Quintus. When she was mistress of his fate, beside other horrid punishments, she made him cut off his own flesh by piecemeal, and roast and eat it. This is the account some historians give us; but Tyro, Cicero's freedman, makes no mention of the treachery of Philologus.*

I am informed, that a long time after, Cæsar going to see one of his grandsons, found him with a book of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, alarmed at the accident, endeavoured to hide the book under his robe; which Cæsar perceived, and took it from him; and after having run most of it over as he stood, he returned it, and said, "*My dear child, this was an eloquent man, and a lover of his country.*"

Being consul at the time when he conquered Antony, he took the son of Cicero for his colleague; under whose auspices the senate took down the statues of Antony, defaced all the monuments of his honour, and decreed, that for the future none of his family should bear the name of Marcus. Thus the divine justice reserved the completion of Antony's punishments for the house of Cicero.

MARCUS BRUTUS.

THE great ancestor of Marcus Brutus was that Junius Brutus to whom the ancient Romans erected a statue of brass, and placed it in the Capitol amongst their kings. He was represented with a drawn sword in his hand, to signify the spirit and firmness with which he vanquished the Tarquins: but, hard tempered like the

steel of which that sword was composed, and in no degree humanised by education, the same obdurate severity which impelled him against the tyrant, shut up his natural affection from his children, when he found those children conspiring for the support of tyranny. On the contrary, that Brutus, whose life we are now writing, had all the advantages that arise from the cultivation of philosophy. To his spirit which was naturally sedate and mild, he gave vigour and activity by constant application. Upon the whole, he was happily formed to virtue, both by nature and education. Even the partizans of Cæsar ascribed to him every thing that had the appearance of honour or generosity in the conspiracy, and all that was of a contrary complexion they laid to the charge of Cassius ; who was, indeed, the friend and relation of Brutus, but by no means resembled him in the simplicity of his manners. It is universally allowed, that his mother, Servilia, was descended from Servilius Ahala, who, when Spurius Mælius seditiously aspired to the monarchy, went up to him in the *forum*, under a pretence of business, and, as Mælius inclined his head to hear what he would say, stabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed for the purpose.¹ But the partizans of Cæsar would not allow that he was descended from Junius Brutus, whose family, they said, was extinct with his two sons.² Marcus Brutus, according to them, was a plebeian, descended from one Brutus, a steward, of mean extraction ; and that the family had but lately risen to any dignity in the state. On the contrary, Posidonius the philosopher agrees with those historians, who say, that Junius Brutus had a third son, who was an infant when his brothers were put to death, and that Marcus Brutus was descended from him. He further tells us, that there were several illustrious persons of that family in his time, with whom he was well acquainted, and who very much resembled the statue of Junius Brutus.³

Cato, the philosopher, was brother to Servilia, the mother of Brutus, who greatly admired and imitated the virtues of his uncle, and married his daughter Porcia.

Brutus was acquainted with all the sects of the Greek philosophers, and understood their doctrines ; but the Platonists stood highest in his esteem. He had no great opinion either of the new, or of the middle academy ; but applied himself wholly to the studies of the ancient. Antiochus, of Ascalon, was therefore his favourite, and he entertained his brother Ariston in his own house ; a man, who, though inferior to some of the philosophers in learning, was equal to the first of them in modesty, prudence, and gentleness of manners. Empylus, who likewise lived with Brutus as we find in

¹ Livy, and other historians, relate this affair differently. Some of them say confidently, that Servilius, who was then general of the horse, put Mælius to death by order of Cincinnatus the dictator.

² Of this number is Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

³ There were several distinguished persons of this family in the year of Rome 553 : some of whom opposed the abrogation of the Chastian law, and were besieged by the Roman women in their houses Livy, l. xxiv. Val. Max. l. ix.

his own epistles, and in those of his friends, was an orator, and left a short, but a well written narrative of the death of Cæsar, entitled *Brutus*

Brutus spoke with great ability in Latin, both in the field and at the bar. In Greek he affected the sententious and laconic way. There are several instances of this in his epistles. Thus, in the beginning of the war he wrote to the Permagenians "I hear you have given money to Dolabella. If you gave it willingly, you must own you injured me, if unwillingly, show it by giving willingly to me." Thus, on another occasion, to the Samians "Your deliberations are tedious, your actions slow, what think you, will be the consequence?" Of the Patareans thus "The Xanthians rejected my kindness, and desperately made their country their grave. The Patareans confided in me, and retained their liberty. It is in your own choice to imitate the prudence of the Patareans, or to suffer the fate of the Xanthians." And such is the style of his most remarkable letters.

While he was yet very young, he accompanied Cato to Cyprus, in the expedition against Ptolemy. After Ptolemy had killed himself, Cato, being detained by business in the isle of Rhodes, sent Caninius to secure the king's treasure, but suspecting his fidelity, he wrote to Brutus to sail immediately to Cyprus from Pamphylia, where, after a fit of sickness, he stayed for the re-establishment of his health. He obeyed the order with reluctance, both out of respect to Caninius, who was superseded with disgrace, and because he thought the employment illiberal, and by no means proper for a young man who was in pursuit of philosophy. Nevertheless he executed the commission with such diligence that he had the approbation of Cato, and having turned the effects of Ptolemy into ready money, he brought the greatest part of it to Rome.

When Rome was divided into two factions, and Pompey and Cæsar were in arms against each other, it was generally believed that Brutus would join Cæsar, because his father had been put to death by Pompey. However, *he thought it his duty to sacrifice his resentments to the interest of his country* and judging Pompey's to be the better cause, he joined his party, though before, he would not even salute Pompey when he met him, esteeming it a crime to have any conversation with the murderer of his father. He now looked upon him as the head of the commonwealth, and, therefore enlisting under his banner, he sailed for Sicily in quality of lieutenant to Sestius, who was governor of the Island. There, however, he found no opportunity to distinguish himself, and being informed that Pompey and Cæsar were encamped near each other, and preparing for that battle on which the whole empire depended, he went voluntarily into Macedonia to have his share in the danger. Pompey, it is said, was so much surprised and pleased with his coming, that he rose to embrace him in the presence of his guards, and treated him with as much respect as if he had been his superior. During the time that he was in camp, those hours that he did not spend with Pompey he employed in reading

and study, and thus he passed the day before the battle of Pharsalia. It was the middle of summer, the heats were intense, the marshy situation of the camp disagreeable, and his tent-bearers were long in coming. Nevertheless, though extremely harassed and fatigued, he did not anoint himself till noon; and then, taking a morsel of bread, while others were at rest, or musing on the event of the ensuing day, he employed himself till the evening in writing an epitome of Polybius.

Cæsar, it is said, had so high an esteem for him, that he ordered his officers by all means to save him, if he would surrender himself, and, if he refused, to let him escape with his life. Some have placed this kindness to the account of Servilia, the mother of Brutus, with whom Cæsar had connections of a tender nature in the early part of his life.¹ Besides, *as this amour was in full blow about the time when Brutus was born, Cæsar had some reason to believe he might be his son.* The intrigue was notorious. When the senate was debating on the dangerous conspiracy of Catiline, Cato and Cæsar, who took different sides of the question, happened to sit near each other. In the midst of the business, a note was brought to Cæsar from without, which he read silently to himself. Cato, hereupon, loudly accused Cæsar of receiving letters from the enemies of the commonwealth; and Cæsar, finding that it had occasioned a disturbance in the senate, delivered the note to Cato as he had received it. Cato, when he found it to be nothing but a lewd letter from his own sister Servilia, threw it back again to Cæsar. "Take it, you sot," said he, and went on with the public business.

After the battle of Pharsalia, when Pompey was fled towards the sea, and Cæsar was storming the camp, Brutus escaped through one of the gates, and fled into a watery marsh, where he hid himself amongst the reeds. From thence he ventured out in the night, and got safe to Larissa. From Larissa he wrote to Cæsar, who expressed the greatest pleasure in hearing of his safety, sent for him, and entertained him amongst the first of his friends. When no one could give account which way Pompey was fled, Cæsar walked for some time alone with Brutus, to consult his opinion; and finding that it was for Egypt, he rejected the opinions of the rest, and directed his march for that country. Pompey had, indeed, taken the route of Egypt, as Brutus conjectured; but he had already met his fate.

Brutus had so much influence with Cæsar that he reconciled him to his friend Cassius; and when he spoke in behalf of the king of Africa, though there were many impeachments against him, he obtained for him a great part of his kingdom.² When he first began to speak on this occasion, Cæsar said, "I know not what

¹ These connections were well known. Cæsar made her a present, on a certain occasion, of a pearl which cost him near £50,000. In the civil wars he assigned to her a confiscated estate for a mere trifle; and when the people expressed their surprise at his cheapness, Cicero said know

orously, *Quo melius emptare sciat, tertium defectu est.* Tertia was a daughter of Servilia's, and *defectu* was a term in the procuring business.

² Plutarch must here be mistaken. It was Diotarus, and not the king of Africa, that Brutus pleaded for.

this young man intends, but whatever it is, he intends it strongly." His mind was steady, and not easily moved by entreaties. *His principles were reason and honour, and virtue, and the ends to which these directed him he prosecuted with so much vigour that he seldom failed of success.* No flattery could induce him to attend to unjust petitions; and though that ductility of mind which may be wrought upon by the impudence of importunity is by some called good-nature, he considered it as the greatest disgrace. He used to say that he suspected those who could refuse no favours had not very honestly employed the flower of their youth.

Cæsar, previously to his expedition into Africa against Cato and Scipio, appointed Brutus to the government of Gallio Cisalpina. And this was very fortunate for that particular province. For while the inhabitants of other provinces were oppressed, and treated like slaves, by the violence and rapacity of their governors, Brutus behaved with so much kindness to the people under his jurisdiction, that they were in some measure indemnified for their former sufferings. Yet he ascribed everything to the goodness of Cæsar; and it was no small gratification to the latter to find, on his return through Italy, not only Brutus himself, but all the cities under his command, ready to attend his progress, and industrious to do him honour.

As there were several prætorships vacant, it was the general opinion, that the chief of them, which is the prætorship of the city, would be conferred either on Brutus or on Cassius. Some say that this competition heightened the variance that had already taken place between Brutus and Cassius; for there was a misunderstanding between them, though Cassius was allied to Brutus by marrying his sister Junia. Others say that this competition was a political manœuvre of Cæsar's, who had encouraged it by favouring both their hopes in private. Be that as it may, Brutus had little more than the reputation of his virtue to set against the gallant actions performed by Cassius in the Parthian war. Cæsar weighed the merits of each; and after consulting with his friends, "Cassius," he said, "has the better title to it, notwithstanding Brutus must have the first prætorship." Another prætorship was, therefore, given to Cassius: but he was not so much obliged by this as offended by the loss of the first. Brutus had, or at least might have had, equal influence with Cæsar in everything else: he might have stood the first in authority and interest, but he was drawn off by Cassius's party. Not that he was perfectly reconciled to Cassius since the competition for the prætorial appointments; but he listened to his friends, who were perpetually advising him not to be soothed or cajoled by Cæsar; but *to reject the civilities of a tyrant whose object was not to reward, but to disarm his virtue.* On the other hand, Cæsar had his suspicions, and Brutus his accusers; yet the former thought he had less to fear from his spirit, his authority, and his connections, than he had to hope from his honesty. When he was told that Antony and Dolabella had some dangerous conspiracy on foot, "It is not," said he, "the sleek and

fat men that I fear, but the pale and lean ;" meaning Brutus and Cassius. Afterwards, when he was advised to beware of Brutus, he laid his hand upon his breast, and said, "Do not you think, then, that Brutus will wait till I have done with this poor body?" As if he thought Brutus the only proper person to succeed him in his immense power. Indeed it is extremely probable that Brutus would have been the first man in Rome, could he have had patience awhile to be the second, and have waited till time had wasted the power of Cæsar, and dimmed the lustre of his great actions. But Cassius, a man of violent passions and an enemy to Cæsar, rather from personal than political hatred, still urged him against the dictator. It was universally said, that Brutus hated the imperial power, and that Cassius hated the emperor. Cassius, indeed, pretended that Cæsar had injured him. He complained that the lions which he had procured when he was nominated ædile, and which he had sent to Megara, Cæsar had taken and converted to his own use, having found them there when that city was taken by Calanus. Those lions, it is said, were very fatal to the inhabitants ; for as soon as their city was taken, they opened their dens, and unchained them in the streets, that they might stop the irruption of the enemy : but instead of that they fell upon the citizens, and tore them in such a manner that their very enemies were struck with horror. Some say that this was the principal motive with Cassius for conspiring against Cæsar ; but they are strangely mistaken. *Cassius had a natural aversion to the whole race of tyrants*, which he showed even when he was at school with Faustus the son of Sylla. When Faustus was boasting amongst the boys of the unlimited power of his father, Cassius rose and struck him on the face. The friends and tutors of Faustus would have taken upon themselves to punish the insult ; but Pompey prevented it, and, sending for the boys, examined them himself. Upon which Cassius said, "Come along, Faustus ! repeat, if you dare, before Pompey, the expressions which provoked me, that I may punish you in the same manner."

But Brutus was animated to this undertaking by the persuasion of his friends, by private intimations, and anonymous letters. Under the statue of his ancestor, who destroyed the Tarquins, was placed a paper with these words : *O that we had a Brutus now ! O that Brutus were now alive !* His own tribunal on which he sat as prætor, was continually filled with such inscriptions as these : *Brutus, thou sleepest ! Thou art not a true Brutus !* The sycophants of Cæsar were the occasion of this ; for, amongst other invidious distinctions which they paid him, they crowned his statues by night, that the people might salute him king, instead of dictator. However, it had a contrary effect.

When Cassius solicited his friends to engage in the conspiracy, they all consented, on condition that Brutus would take the lead. They concluded that it was not strength of hands, or resolution, that they wanted, but the countenance of a man of reputation, to preside at this sacrifice, and to justify the deed. They were

sensible that without him, they should neither proceed with spirit, nor escape suspicion when they had effected their purpose. The world, they knew, would conclude, that if the action had been honourable, Brutus would not have refused to engage in it. Cassius having considered these things, determined to pay Brutus the first visit after the quarrel that had been between them; and as soon as the compliments of reconciliation were over, he asked him, "Whether he intended to be in the senate on the calends of March; for it was reported," he said, "that Cæsar's friends designed to move that he should be declared king." Brutus answered, "He should not be there;" and Cassius replied, "But what if they should send for us?" "*It would then,*" said Brutus, "*be my duty, not only to speak against it, but to sacrifice my life for the liberties of Rome.*" Cassius, encouraged by this, proceeded:—"But what Roman will bear to see you die? Do not you know yourself, Brutus? Think you that those inscriptions you found on your tribunal were placed there by weavers and victuallers, and not by the first men in Rome? From other pætors they look for presents and shows, and gladiators; but *from you they expect the abolition of tyranny, as a debt which your family has entailed upon you.* They are ready to suffer everything on your account, if you are really what you ought, and what they expect you to be." After this he embraced Brutus, and being perfectly reconciled, they retired to their respective friends.

In Pompey's party there was one Quintus Ligarius, whom Cæsar had pardoned, though he had borne arms against him. This man, less grateful for the pardon he had received than offended with the power which made him stand in need of it, hated Cæsar, but was the intimate friend of Brutus. The latter one day visited him, and finding him not well, said, "O Ligarius! what a time is this to be sick?" Upon which he raised himself on his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, answered, "If Brutus has any design worthy of himself, Ligarius is well." They now tried the inclinations of all they could trust, and took into the conspiracy, not only their familiar friends, but such as they knew to be brave, and above the fear of death. For this reason, though they had the greatest regard for Cicero, and the utmost confidence in his principles as a republican, they concealed the conspiracy from him, lest his natural timidity, and the weariness of age, should retard those measures which required the most resolute despatch.

Brutus likewise thought proper to leave his friends, Statilius and Favonius, the followers of Cato, out of the conspiracy. He had tried their sentiments, under the colour of a philosophical dispute; in which Favonius observed, that *the worst absolute government was preferable to a civil war*: and Statilius added, that it became no wise man to expose himself to fear and danger, on account of the faults and follies of others. But Labeo, who was present, contradicted both. And Brutus, though he was then silent, as if the dispute had been difficult to determine, afterwards communicated the design to Labeo, who readily concurred in it. It was

then agreed to gain over the other Brutus, surnamed Albinus, who, though not distinguished by his personal courage, was of consequence, on account of *the great number of gladiators he bred for the public shows*, and the entire confidence that Cæsar placed in him. To the solicitations of Cassius and Labeo, he made no answer; but when he came privately to Brutus, and found that he was at the head of the conspiracy, he made no scruple of joining them. The name of Brutus drew in many more of the most considerable persons of the state; and though they had entered into an oath of secrecy, they kept the design so close, that, notwithstanding the gods themselves denounced the event by a variety of prodigies, no one would give credit to the conspiracy.

Brutus now felt his consequence lie heavy upon him. The safety of some of the greatest men in Rome depended on his conduct, and he could not think of the danger they were to encounter without anxiety. In public, indeed, he suppressed his uneasiness: but at home, and especially by night, he was not the same man. Sometimes he would start from his sleep; at others, he was totally immersed in thought. From which, and the like circumstances, it was obvious to his wife, that he was revolving in his mind some difficult and dangerous enterprise. Porcia was the daughter of Cato. She was married to her cousin Brutus very young, though she was a widow, and had a son, named Bibulus, after his father. There is a small tract of his still extant, called *Memoirs of Brutus*. Porcia added to the affection of a wife the prudence of a woman who was not unacquainted with philosophy; and she resolved not to inquire into her husband's secrets before she had made the following trial of her own firmness. She ordered all her attendants out of her apartment, and, with a small knife, gave herself a deep wound in the thigh. This occasioned a great effusion of blood, extreme pain, and a fever in consequence of that pain. Brutus was extremely afflicted for her, and as he attended her, in the height of her pain, she thus spoke to him: "*Brutus, when you married the daughter of Cato, you did not, I presume, consider her merely as a female companion, but as the partner of your fortunes. You, indeed, have given me no reason to repent my marriage; but what proof, either of affection or fidelity, can you receive from me, if I may neither share in your secret griefs, nor in your secret councils? I am sensible that secrecy is not the characteristic virtue of my sex: but surely our natural weakness may be strengthened by a virtuous education, and by honourable connections; and Porcia can boast that she is the daughter of Cato, and the wife of Brutus. Yet even in these distinctions I placed no absolute confidence, till I tried and found that I was proof against pain.*" When she had said this, she showed him her wound, and informed him of her motives: upon which Brutus was so struck with her magnanimity, that with lifted hands, he entreated the gods to favour his enterprise, and enable him to approve himself worthy of Porcia. He then took every means to cure her wound, and restore her health.

A meeting of the senate being appointed, at which Cæsar was expected to attend, *that* was thought a proper time for the execution of their design. For *then* they could not only appear together without suspicion, but as some of the most considerable persons in the commonwealth would be present, they flattered themselves that, as soon as the deed was done, they would join in asserting the common liberty. The place too where the senate was to meet seemed providentially favourable for their purpose. It was a portico adjoining the theatre, and in the midst of a saloon, furnished with benches, also a statue of Pompey, which had been erected to him by the commonwealth, when he adorned that part of the city with those buildings. Here the senate was convened on the ides of March; and it seemed as if some god should bring Cæsar to this place to revenge upon him the death of Pompey.

When the day came, Brutus went out, and took with him a dagger, which last circumstance was known only to his wife. The rest met at the house of Cassius, and conducted his son, who was that day to put on the *toga virilis* to the *forum*: from whence they proceeded to Pompey's portico, and waited for Cæsar. Any one that had been privy to the design of the conspirators, would here have been astonished at their calm and consistent firmness. Many of them were prætors, and obliged by their office to hear and determine causes. These they heard with so much calmness, and decided with so much accuracy, that one could not have supposed there had been anything else upon their minds; and when a certain person appealed from the judgment of Brutus to Cæsar, Brutus looking round on the assembly, said, *Cæsar neither does, nor shall hinder me from acting agreeably to the laws.* Nevertheless they were disturbed by many accidents. Though the day was far spent, still Cæsar did not come, being detained by his wife and the soothsayers, on account of defects in the sacrifices. In the meantime a person came up to Casca, one of the conspirators, and taking him by the hand, "You concealed the thing from me," said he, "but Brutus has told me all." Casca expressed his surprise; upon which the other said, laughing, "How came you to be so rich on a sudden, as to stand for the ædileship;" so near was the great secret being blown by the ambiguity of this man's discourse! at the same time Popilius Læna, a senator, after saluting Brutus and Cassius in a very obliging manner, said, in a whisper, "My best wishes are with you;—but make no delay; for it is now no secret." After saying this, he immediately went away, and left them in a great consternation; for they concluded that everything was discovered. Soon after this a messenger came running from Brutus's house, and told him that his wife was dying. Porcia had been under extreme anxiety, and in great agitation about the event. At every little noise or voice she heard, she started up and ran to the door, like one of the frantic priestesses of Bacchus, inquiring of every one that came from the *forum*, what Brutus was doing. She sent messenger after messenger to make the same inquiries; and being unable any longer to support the agitations of her mind, she at

length fainted away. She had not time to retire to her chamber. As she sat in the middle of the house, her spirits failed, her colour changed, and she lost her senses and her speech. Her women shrieked, the neighbours ran to their assistance, and a report was soon spread through the city, that Porcia was dead. However, by the care of those that were about her, she recovered in a little time. Brutus was greatly distressed with the news, and not without reason; but *his private grief gave way to the public concern*, for it was now reported that Cæsar was coming in a litter. The ill omen of his sacrifices had deterred him from entering on business of importance, and he proposed to defer it under a pretence of indisposition. As soon as he came out of the litter, Popilius Læna, who a little before had wished Brutus success, went up, and spoke to him for a considerable time, Cæsar all the while standing, and seeming very attentive. The conspirators not being able to hear what he said, suspected from what passed between him and Brutus, that he was now making a discovery of their designs. This disconcerted them extremely, and looking upon each other, they agreed, by the silent language of the countenance, that they should not stay to be taken, but despatch themselves. With this intent Cassius and some others were just about to draw their daggers from under their robes, when Brutus, observing from the looks and gestures of Læna that he was petitioning, and not accusing, encouraged Cassius by the cheerfulness of his countenance. This was the only way by which he could communicate his sentiments, being surrounded by many who were strangers to the conspiracy. Læna, after a little while, kissed Cæsar's hand, and left him; and it plainly appeared, upon the whole, that he had been speaking about his own affairs.

The senate was already seated, and the conspirators got close about Cæsar's chair, under a pretence of preferring a suit to him. Cassius turned his face to Pompey's statue, and invoked it, as if it had been sensible of his prayers. Trebonius kept Antony in conversation without the court. And now Cæsar entered, and the whole senate rose to salute him. The conspirators crowded around him, and set Tullius Cimber, one of their number, to solicit the recall of his brother, who was banished. They all united in the solicitation, took hold of Cæsar's hand, and kissed his head and his breast. He rejected their applications, and finding that they would not desist, at length rose from his seat in anger. Tullius upon this laid hold of his robe, and pulled it from his shoulders. Casca, who stood behind, gave him the first, though but a slight wound with his dagger, near the shoulder. Cæsar caught the handle of the dagger, and said in Latin, "Villain! Casca! What dost thou mean?" Casca, in Greek, called his brother to his assistance. Cæsar was wounded by numbers almost at the same instant, and looked round him for some way to escape; but when he saw the dagger of Brutus pointed against him, he let go Casca's hand, and covering his head with his robe, resigned himself to their swords. The conspirators pressed so eagerly to stab him, that they wounded each other. Brutus, in attempting

to have his share in the sacrifice, received a wound in his hand, and all of them were covered with blood.

*Cæsar thus slain, Brutus stepped forward into the middle of the senate-house, and proposing to make a speech, desired the senators to stay. They fled, however, with the utmost precipitation though no one pursued; for the conspirators had no design on any life but Cæsar's; and, that taken away, they invited the rest to liberty. Indeed, all but Brutus were of opinion that Antony should fall with Cæsar. They considered him as an insolent man, who in his principles, favoured monarchy; and who had made himself popular in the army. Moreover, besides his natural disposition to despotism he had at this time the consular power, and was the colleague of Cæsar. Brutus, on the other hand, alleged the injustice of such a measure, and suggested the possibility of Antony's change of principle. He thought it far from being improbable, that, after the destruction of Cæsar, a man so passionately fond of glory, should be inspired by an emulation to join in restoring the commonwealth. Thus Antony was saved; though, in the general consternation, he fled in the disguise of a plebeian. Brutus and his party betook themselves to the Capitol; and showing their bloody hands and naked swords, proclaimed liberty to the people as they passed. At first all was lamentation, distraction, and tumult: but as no further violence was committed, the senators and the people recovered their apprehensions, and went in a body to the conspirators in the Capitol. Brutus made a popular speech adapted to the occasion; and this being well received, the conspirators were encouraged to come down into the *forum*. The rest were undistinguished; but persons of the first quality attended Brutus, conducted him with great honour from the Capitol, and placed him in the *rostrum*. At the sight of Brutus, the populace, though disposed to tumult, were struck with reverence: and when he began to speak, they attended with silence. It soon appeared, however, that it was not the action, but the man, they respected; for when Cinna spoke, and accused Cæsar, they loaded him with the most opprobrious language; and became so outrageous that the conspirators thought proper once more to retire into the Capitol. Brutus now expected to be besieged, and therefore dismissed the principal people that attended him; because he thought it unreasonable that they who had no concern in the action should be exposed to the danger that followed it. Next day the senate assembled in the temple of Tellus, and Antony, Plancus, and Cicero, in their respective speeches, persuaded and prevailed on the people to forget what was passed. Accordingly the conspirators were not only pardoned, but it was decreed that the consuls should take into consideration what honours and dignities were proper to be conferred upon them. After this the senate broke up; and Antony, having sent his son as an hostage to the Capitol, Brutus and his party came down, and mutual compliments passed between them. Cassius was invited to sup with Antony, Brutus with Lepidus, and the rest were entertained by their respective friends.*

Early next morning the senate assembled again, and voted thanks to Antony for preventing a civil war, as well as to Brutus and his party for their services to the commonwealth. The latter had also provinces distributed amongst them. Crete was allotted to Brutus, Africa to Cassius, Asia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Cimber, and the other Brutus had that part of Gaul which lies upon the Po.

Cæsar's will, and his funeral came next in question. Antony proposed that the will should be read in public; and that the funeral should not be in private, or without proper magnificence, lest such treatment should exasperate the people. Cassius strongly opposed this; but Brutus agreed to it, and here he fell into a second error. His preservation of so formidable an enemy as Antony was a mistaken thing; but his giving up the management of Cæsar's funeral to him was an irreparable fault. The publication of the will had an immediate tendency to inspire the people with a passionate regret for the death of Cæsar; for he had left to each Roman citizen 75 drachmas, beside the public use of his gardens beyond the Tiber, where now the temple of Fortune stands. *When the body was brought into the forum and Antony spoke the usual funeral eulogium, as he perceived the people affected by his speech, he endeavoured still more to work upon their passions by unfolding the bloody garment of Cæsar, showing them in how many places it was pierced, and pointing out the number of his wounds.* This threw everything into confusion. Some called aloud to kill the murderers: others, as was formerly done in the case of that seditious demagogue Clodius, snatched the benches and tables from the neighbouring shops, and erected a pile for the body of Cæsar, in the midst of consecrated places and surrounding temples. As soon as the pile was in flames, the people, crowding from all parts, snatched the half-burned brands, and ran round the city to fire the houses of the conspirators, but they were on their guard against such an assault, and prevented the effects.

There was a poet named Cinna, who had no concern in the conspiracy, but was rather a friend of Cæsar's. This man dreamed that Cæsar invited him to supper, and that, when he declined the invitation, he took him by the hand, and constrained him to follow him into a dark and deep place, which he entered with the utmost horror. The agitation of his spirits threw him into a fever, which lasted the remaining part of the night. In the morning, however, when Cæsar was to be interred, he was ashamed of absenting himself from the solemnity: he therefore mingled with the multitude that had just been enraged by the speech of Antony; and being unfortunately mistaken for that Cinna, who had before inveighed against Cæsar, he was torn to pieces. This, more than anything, except Antony's change of conduct, alarmed Brutus and his party. They now thought it necessary to consult their safety, and retired to Antium. Here they sat down, with an intent to return as soon as the popular fury should subside; and for this, considering the inconstancy of the multitude, they concluded that they should not have long to wait. The senate, moreover, was in their interest;

and though they did not punish the murderers of Cinna, they caused strict inquiry to be made after those who attempted to burn the houses of the conspirators. Antony too became obnoxious to the people; for they suspected him of erecting another kind of monarchy. The return of Brutus was consequently wished for; and, as he was to exhibit shows and games in his capacity as prætor, it was expected. Brutus, however, had received intelligence, that several of Cæsar's old soldiers, to whom he had distributed lands and colonies, had stolen by small parties into Rome, and that they lay in wait for him: he therefore did not think proper to come himself; notwithstanding which, the shows that were exhibited on his account were extremely magnificent: for he had bought a considerable number of wild beasts, and ordered that they should all be reserved for that purpose. He went himself as far as Naples to collect a number of comedians; and being informed of one Canutius, who was much admired upon the stage, he desired his friends to use all their interest to bring him to Rome. Canutius was a Grecian; and Brutus, therefore, thought that no compulsion should be used. He wrote likewise to Cicero, and begged that he would, by all means, be present at the public shows.

Such was the situation of his affairs, when, *on the arrival of Octavius at Rome, things took another turn. He was son to the sister of Cæsar, who had adopted and appointed him his heir. He was pursuing his studies at Appollonia, and in expectation of meeting Cæsar there on his intended expedition against the Parthians, at the time when Cæsar was slain. Upon hearing of this event, he immediately came to Rome, and, to ingratiate himself with the people, assumed the name of Cæsar.* By punctually distributing amongst the citizens the money that was left them by his uncle, he soon took the lead of Antony; and, by his liberality to the soldiers, he brought over to his party the greatest number of those who had served under Cæsar. Cicero likewise, who hated Antony, joined his interest. And this was so much resented by Brutus, that, in his letters, he reproached him in the severest terms. "He perceived," he said, "that Cicero was tame enough to bear a tyrant, and was only afraid of the tyrant that hated him;—that his compliments to Octavius were meant to purchase an easy slavery: but our ancestors," said Brutus, "scorned to bear even a gentle master." He added, that "As to the measures of peace or war he was undetermined; but in one thing he was resolved, which was, *never to be a slave!*" He expressed his surprise, "That Cicero should prefer an infamous accommodation even to the dangers of civil war; and that *the only fruits he expected from destroying the tyranny of Antony should be the establishment of a new tyrant in Octavius.*" Such was the spirit of his first letters.

The city was now divided into two factions, some joined Cæsar, others remained with Antony, and the army was sold to the best bidder. Brutus, of course, despaired of any desirable event; and, being resolved to leave Italy, he went by land to Lucania, and came to the maritime town of Elea. Porcia, being to return from

thence to Rome, endeavoured, as well as possible, to conceal the sorrow that oppressed her ; but, notwithstanding her magnanimity, a picture which she found there betrayed her distress. The subject was the parting of Hector and Andromache. He was represented delivering his son Astyanax into her arms, and the eyes of Andromache were fixed upon him. The resemblance that this picture bore to her own distress, made her burst into tears the moment she beheld it ; and several times she visited the melancholy emblem, to gaze upon it, and weep before it. On this occasion Acilius, one of Brutus's friends, repeated that passage in Homer where Andromache says :

Yet while my Hector still survives, I weep
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee. PORA.

To which Brutus replied, with a smile, " But I must not answer Porcia as Hector did Andromache :—

—Hasten to thy tasks at home,
There guide the spinille and direct the loom. PORA.

She has not personal strength, indeed, to sustain the toils we undergo, but her spirit is not less active in the cause of her country." This anecdote we have from Bibulus, the son of Porcia.

From Elea, Brutus sailed for Athens, where he was received with high applause, and invested with public honours. There he took up his residence with a particular friend, and attended the lectures of Theomnestus the academic, and Bratippus the peripatetic, devoting himself wholly to literary pursuits. Yet in this unsuspected state he was privately preparing for war. He despatched Herostratus into Macedonia, to gain the principal officers in that province ; and he secured by his kindness all the young Romans who were students then at Athens. Amongst these was the son of Cicero, on whom he bestowed the highest encomiums ; and said, that he could never cease admiring the spirit of that young man, who bore such a mortal hatred to tyrants.

At length he began to act more publicly ; and being informed that some of the Roman ships laden with money, were returning from Asia, under the command of a man of honour, a friend of his, he met him at Carystus, a city of Eubœa. There he had a conference with him, and requested that he would give up the ships. By the by, it happened to be Brutus's birth-day, on which occasion he gave a splendid entertainment, and while they were drinking *Victory to Brutus and Liberty to Rome*, to encourage the cause, he called for a larger bowl. While he held it in his hand, without any visible relation to the subject they were upon, he pronounced this verse :

My fall was doom'd by Phœbus and by Fate.

Some historians say, that Apollo was the word he gave his soldiers in the last battle at Philippi ; and, of course conclude, that this exclamation was a presage of his defeat. Antistius, the commander of the ships, gave him 500,000 drachmas of the money he was carrying to Italy. The remains of Pompey's army that

were scattered about Thessaly, readily joined his standard ; and besides these, he took 500 horse whom Cinna was conducting to Dolabella in Asia. He then sailed to Demetrias, and seized a large quantity of arms which Julius Cæsar had provided for the Parthian war, and which were now to be sent to Antony. Macedonia was delivered up to him by Hortensius the prætor ; and all the neighbouring princes readily offered their assistance. When news was received that Caius, the brother of Antony, had marched through Italy, to join the forces under Gabinius in Dyrrachium and Apollonia, Brutus determined to seize them before he arrived, and made a forced march with such troops as were at hand. The way was rugged, and the snows were deep ; but he moved with such expedition that his sutlers were left a long way behind. When he had almost reached Dyrrachium, he was seized with the disorder called *Bulimia*, or violent hunger, occasioned by cold and fatigue. This disorder affects both men and cattle, after fatigues in the snow. Whether it is, that perspiration being prevented by the extreme cold, the vital heat is confined, and more immediately consumes the aliment ; or, that a keen and subtle vapour rising from the melted snow penetrates the body, and destroys the heat by expelling it through the pores : the sweatings seem to arise from the heat contending with the cold, which being repelled by the latter, the vapoury steam is diffused over the surface of the body. Brutus growing very faint, and no provisions being at hands, his servants were forced to go to the gates of the enemy, and beg bread of the sentinels. When they were informed of the distress of Brutus, they brought him meat and drink with their own hand ; and in return for their humanity, when he had taken the city, he showed kindness both to them and to the rest of the inhabitants.

When Caius arrived in Apollonia, he summoned the soldiers that were quartered near the city to join him ; but finding that they were all with Brutus, and suspecting that those in Apollonia favoured the same party, he went to Buthrotus. Brutus, however, found means to destroy three of his cohorts in their march. Caius, after this, attempted to seize some posts near Byllis, but *was routed in a set battle by young Cicero*, to whom Brutus had given the command of the army on that occasion, and whose conduct he made use of frequently, and with success. Caius was soon afterwards surprised in a marsh, from whence he had no means of escape ; and Brutus, finding him in his power, surrounded him with his cavalry, and gave orders that none of his men should be killed ; for he expected that they would quickly join him of their own accord. As he expected, it came to pass. They surrendered both themselves and their general, so that Brutus had now a very respectable army. He treated Caius for a long time with all possible respect ; nor did he divest him of any ensigns of dignity that he bore, though it is said that he received letters from several persons at Rome, and particularly from Cicero advising him to put him to death. At length, however, when he found that he was secretly practising

with his officers, and exciting seditions amongst the soldiers, he put him on board a ship, and kept him close prisoner. The soldiers that he had corrupted retired into Apollonia, from whence they sent to Brutus, that if he would come to them there, they would return to their duty. Brutus answered, "That this was not the custom of the Romans, but that those who had offended should come in person to their general, and solicit his forgiveness." This they did, and were accordingly pardoned.

He was now preparing to go into Asia, when he was informed of a change in affairs at Rome. *Young Cæsar, supported by the senate, had got the better of Antony, and had driven him out of Italy; but, at the same time, he began to be no less formidable himself; for he solicited the consulship contrary to law, and kept in pay an unnecessary army.* Consequently the senate, though they at first supported, were now dissatisfied with his measures. And as they began to cast their eyes on Brutus, and decreed or confirmed several provinces to him, Cæsar was under some apprehensions. He therefore despatched messengers to Antony, and desired that a reconciliation might take place. After this he drew up his army around the city, and *carried the consulship, though but a boy in his twentieth year, as he tells us in his Commentaries.* He was no sooner consul than he ordered a judicial process to issue against Brutus and his accomplices, for murdering the first magistrate in Rome without trial or condemnation. Lucius Cornificius was appointed to accuse Brutus, and Marcus Agrippa accused Cassius; neither of whom appearing, the judges were obliged to pass sentence against both. It is said, that when the crier, as usual, cited Brutus to appear, the people could not suppress their sighs; and persons of the first distinction heard it in silent dejection. Publius Silicius was observed to burst into tears, and this was the cause why he was afterwards proscribed. *The triumviri, Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus, being now reconciled, divided the provinces amongst them, and settled that list of murder, in which 200 citizens, and Cicero amongst the rest, were proscribed.*

When the report of these proceedings was brought into Macedonia, Brutus found himself under a necessity of sending orders to Hortensius to kill Caius, the brother of Antony, in revenge of the death of Cicero, his friend, and Brutus Albinus, his kinsman, who was slain. This was the reason why Antony, when he had taken Hortensius at the battle of Philippi, slew him upon his brother's tomb. Brutus says, that he was more ashamed of the cause of Cicero's death than grieved at the event: while he saw Rome enslaved more by her own fault, than by the fault of her tyrants, and continue a tame spectator of such scenes as ought not to have been heard of without horror.

The army of Brutus was now considerable, and he ordered its route into Asia, while a fleet was preparing in Bithynia and Cyzicum. As he marched by land, he settled the affairs of the cities, and gave audience to the princes of those countries through which he passed. He sent orders to Cassius, who was in Syria, to

give up his intended journey into Egypt, and join him. On this occasion he tells him, that their collecting forces to destroy the tyrants was not to secure an empire to themselves : but to deliver their fellow-citizens : that they should never forget this great object of their undertaking, but, adhering to their first intentions, keep Italy within their eye, and hasten to rescue their country from oppression.

Cassius, accordingly, set out to join him, and Brutus at the same time making some progress to meet him, their interview was at Smyrna. Till this meeting they had not seen each other since they parted at the Piræus of Athens, when Cassius set out for Syria, and Brutus for Macedonia. The forces they had respectively collected gave them great joy, and made them confident of success.—From Italy they had fled, like solitary exiles, without money, without arms, without a ship, a soldier, or a town to fly to. Yet now, in so short a time, they found themselves supplied with shipping and money, with an army of horse and foot, and in a condition of contending for the empire of Rome. Cassius was no less respectful to Brutus than Brutus was to him ; but the latter would generally wait upon him, as he was the older man, and of a feeble constitution. Cassius was esteemed an able soldier, but of a fiery disposition, and ambitious to command rather by fear than affection : though, at the same time, with his familiar acquaintance, he was easy in his manners, and fond of raillery to excess. *Brutus, on account of his virtue, was respected by the people, beloved by his friends, admired by men of principle, and not hated even by his enemies. He was mild in his temper, and had a greatness of mind that was superior to anger, avarice, and the love of pleasure. He was firm and inflexible in his opinions, and zealous in every pursuit where justice or honour were concerned.* The people had the highest opinion of his integrity and sincerity in every undertaking, and this naturally inspired them with confidence and affection. Even Pompey the Great had hardly ever so much credit with them ; for who ever imagined, that, if he had conquered Cæsar, he would have submitted to the laws, and would not have retained his power under the title of consul or dictator, or some more specious and popular name ? Cassius, on the contrary, a man of violent passions and rapacious avarice, was suspected of exposing himself to toil and danger, rather from a thirst of power than an attachment to the liberties of his country. The former disturbers of the commonwealth, Cinna, and Marius, and Carbo, evidently set their country as a stake for the winner, and hardly scrupled to own that they fought for empire. But the very enemies of Brutus never charge him with this. Even Antony has been heard to say, that Brutus was the only conspirator who had the sense of honour and justice for his motive ; and that the rest were wholly actuated by malice or envy. It is clear, too, from what Brutus himself says, that he finally and principally relied on his own virtue. Thus he writes to Atticus immediately before an engagement, “ That his affairs were in the most desirable situation imaginable ; for that either he should

conquer, and restore liberty to Rome, or die, and be free from slavery; and that this only remained a question, Whether they should live or die free men!" He adds, that Mark Antony was properly punished for his folly; who, when he might have ranked with the Brutii, the Cassii, and Catos, chose rather to be the underling of Octavius; and that if he did not fall in the approaching battle, they would very soon be at variance with each other. In which he seems to have been a true prophet.

Whilst they were at Smyrna, Brutus desired Cassius to let him have part of the vast treasure he had collected, because his own was chiefly expended in equipping a fleet to gain the superiority at sea. But the friends of Cassius advised him against this; alleging, that it would be absurd to give Brutus that money which he had saved with so much frugality, and acquired with so much envy, merely that Brutus might increase his popularity, by distributing it amongst the soldiers. Cassius, however, gave him a third of what he had, and then they parted for their respective commands. Cassius behaved with great severity on the taking of Rhodes; though, when he first entered the city, and was saluted with the title of king and master, he answered, "That he was neither their king nor their master, but the destroyer of him who would have been both." Brutus demanded supplies of men and money from the Lycians: but Naucrates, an orator, persuaded the cities to rebel, and some of the inhabitants posted themselves on the hills with an intent to oppose the passage of Brutus. Brutus at first despatched a party of horse, which surprised them at dinner, and killed 600 of them. But afterwards, when he had taken the adjacent towns and villages, he gave up the prisoners without ransom, and hoped to gain them to his party by clemency. Their former sufferings, however, made them reject his humanity, and those that still resisted being driven into the city of Xanthus, were there besieged. As a river ran close by the town, several attempted to escape by swimming and diving; but they were prevented by nets let down for that purpose, which had little bells at the top, to give notice when any one was taken. The Xanthians afterwards made a sally in the night, and set fire to several of the battering engines; but they were perceived and driven back by the Romans; at the same time the violence of the winds drove the flames on the city, so that several houses near the battlements took fire. Brutus, being apprehensive that the whole city would be destroyed, sent his own soldiers to assist the inhabitants in quenching the fire. But the Lycians were seized with an incredible despair, a kind of frenzy which can no otherwise be described than by calling it a passionate desire of death. Women and children, freemen and slaves, people of all ages and conditions, strove to repulse the soldiers as they came to their assistance from the walls. With their own hands they collected wood and reeds and all manner of combustibles, to spread the fire over the city, and encouraged its progress by every means in their power. Thus assisted, the flames flew over the whole with dreadful rapidity; whilst Brutus,

extremely shocked at this calamity, rode round the walls, and stretching forth his hands to the inhabitants, entreated them to spare themselves and their city. Regardless of his entreaties, they sought by every means to put an end to their lives. Men, women, and even children, with hideous cries, leaped into the flames. Some threw themselves headlong from the walls, and others fell upon the swords of their parents, opening their breasts, and begging to be slain.

When the city was in a great measure reduced to ashes, a woman was found who had hanged herself, with her young child fastened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with which she had fired her house. This deplorable object so much affected Brutus that he wept when he was told of it, and proclaimed a reward to any soldier who could save a Xanthian. It is said that no more than 150 were preserved, and those against their will. Thus the Xanthians, as if fate had appointed certain periods for their destruction, after a long course of years, sunk into that deplorable ruin, in which the same rash despair had involved their ancestors in the Persian war : for they too burned their city, and destroyed themselves.

After this, when the Patarcans likewise made resistance, Brutus was under great anxiety whether he should besiege them ; for he was afraid they should follow the desperate measures of the Xanthians. However, having some of their women whom he had taken prisoners, he dismissed them without ransom ; and those returning to their husbands and parents, who happened to be people of the first distinction, so much extolled the justice and moderation of Brutus, that they prevailed on them to submit, and put their city in his hands. The adjacent cities followed their example, and found that his humanity exceeded their hopes. Cassius compelled every Rhodian to give up all the gold and silver in his possession, by which he amassed 8,000 talents ; and yet he laid the public under a fine of 500 talents more ; but Brutus took only 150 talents of the Lycians, and, without doing them any other injury, led his army into Ionia.

Brutus, in the course of this expedition, did many acts of justice, and was vigilant in the dispensation of rewards and punishments. An instance of this I shall relate, because both he himself, and every honest Roman, was particularly pleased with it. When Pompey the Great, after his overthrow at Pharsalia, fled into Egypt, and landed near Pelusium, the tutors and ministers of young Ptolemy consulted what measures they should take on the occasion. But they were of different opinions. Some were for receiving him, others for excluding him out of Egypt. Theodotus, a Chian by birth, and a teacher of rhetoric by profession, who then attended the king in that capacity, was, for want of abler ministers, admitted to the council. This man insisted that both were in the wrong ; those who were for receiving, and those who were for expelling Pompey. The best measure they could take, he said, would be to put him to death, and concluded his speech with the

proverb, that *dead men do not bite*. The council entered into his opinion ; and Pompey the Great, an example of the incredible mutability of fortune, fell a sacrifice to the arguments of a sophist, as that sophist lived afterwards to boast. Not long after, upon Cæsar's arrival in Egypt, some of the murderers received their proper reward, and were put to death ; but Theodotus made his escape. Yet, though for a while he gained from fortune the poor privilege of a wandering and despicable life, he fell at last into the hands of Brutus, as he was passing through Asia ; and, by paying the forfeit of his baseness, became more memorable from his death than from anything in his life.

About this time Brutus sent for Cassius to Sardis, and went with his friends to meet him. The whole army being drawn up, saluted both the leaders with the title of *Imperator*. But, as it usually happens in great affairs, where many friends and many officers are engaged, mutual complaints and suspicions arose between Brutus and Cassius. To settle these more properly, they retired into an apartment by themselves. Expostulations, debates, and accusations followed ; and these were so violent that they burst into tears. Their friends without were surprised at the loudness and asperity of the conference ; but though they were apprehensive of the consequence, they durst not interfere, because they had been expressly forbidden to enter. Favonius, however, an imitator of Cato, but rather an enthusiast than rational in his philosophy, attempted to enter. The servants in waiting endeavoured to prevent him, but it was not easy to stop the impetuous Favonius. He was violent in his whole conduct, and valued himself less on his dignity as a senator than on a kind of cynical freedom on saying everything he pleased ; nor was this unentertaining to those who could bear with his impertinence. However, he broke through the door and entered the apartment, pronouncing, in a theatrical tone, what Nestor says in Homer,

Young men, be ruled—I'm older than you both.

Cassius laughed ; but Brutus thrust him out, telling him that he pretended to be a *cynic*, but was in reality a *dog*. This, however, put an end to the dispute ; and for that time they parted. Cassius gave an entertainment in the evening, to which Brutus invited his friends. When they were seated, Favonius came in from bathing. Brutus called aloud to him, telling him that he was not invited, and bade him go to the lower end of the table. Favonius, notwithstanding, thrust himself in, and sat down in the middle. On that occasion there was much learning and good humour in the conversation.

The day following, one Lucius Pella, who had been prætor, and employed in offices of trust, being impeached by the Sardians of embezzling the public money, was disgraced and condemned by Brutus. This was very mortifying to Cassius ; for, a little before, two of his own friends had been accused of the same crime ; but he had absolved them in public, and contenting himself with giving them a private reproof, continued them in office. Of course, he

charged Brutus with too rigid an exertion of the laws at a time when lenity was much more politic. Brutus, on the other hand, reminded him of the ides of March, the time when they had killed Cæsar; who was not, personally speaking, the scourge of mankind, but only abetted and supported those that were within his power. He bade him consider, that if the neglect of justice were in any case to be connived at, it should have been done before; and that they had better have borne with the oppressions of Cæsar's friends than suffered the malpractices of their own to pass with impunity: "For then," continued he, "we could have been blamed only for cowardice, but now, after all we have undergone, we shall lie under the imputation of injustice." Such were the principles of Brutus.

When they were about to leave Asia, Brutus, it is said, had an extraordinary apparition. Naturally watchful, sparing in his diet, and assiduous in business, he allowed himself but little time for sleep. In the day he never slept, nor in the night, till all business was over, and, the rest being retired, he had nobody to converse with. But at this time, involved as he was in the operations of war, and solicitous for the event, he only slumbered a little after supper, and spent the rest of the night in ordering his most urgent affairs. When these were despatched, he employed himself in reading till the third watch, when the tribunes and centurions came to him for orders. Thus, a little before he left Asia, he was sitting alone in his tent, by a dim light, and at a late hour. The whole army lay in sleep and silence, while the general, wrapped in meditation, thought he perceived something enter his tent: turning towards the door, he saw a horrible and monstrous spectre standing silently by his side. "*What art thou?*" said he boldly. "*Art thou god or man? And what is thy business with me?*" The spectre answered, "*I am thy evil genius, Brutus! Thou wilt see me at Philippi.*" To which he calmly replied, "*I'll meet thee there.*" When the apparition was gone, he called his servants, who told him they had neither heard any noise, nor had seen any vision. That night he did not go to rest, but went early in the morning to Cassius, and told him what had happened. Cassius, who was of the school of Epicurus, and used frequently to dispute with Brutus on these subjects, answered him thus: "It is the opinion of our sect, that not everything we see is real; for matter is evasive, and sense deceitful. Besides, the impressions it receives are, by the quick and subtle influence of imagination, thrown into a variety of forms, many of which have no archetypes in nature: and this the imagination effects as easily as we may make an impression on wax. The mind of man, having in itself the plastic powers, and the component parts, can fashion and vary its objects at pleasure. This is clear from the sudden transition of dreams, in which the imagination can educe from the slightest principles such an amazing variety of forms, and call into exercise all the passions of the soul. The mind is perpetually in motion, and that motion is imagination, or thought. But when the body,

as in your case, is fatigued with labour, it naturally suspends, or perverts the regular functions of the mind. Upon the whole, *it is highly improbable that there should be any such beings as demons, or spirits; or that if there were such, they should assume a human shape or voice, or have any power to affect us.* At the same time I own I could wish there were such beings, that we might not rely on fleets and armies, but find the concurrence of the gods in this our sacred and glorious enterprise." Such were the arguments he made use of to satisfy Brutus.

When the army began to march, two eagles perched on the two first standards, and accompanied them as far as Philippi, being constantly fed by the soldiers; but the day before the battle they flew away. Brutus had already reduced most of the nations in these parts; nevertheless, he traversed the sea-coast over against Thasus, that, if any hostile power remained, he might bring it into subjection. Norbanus, who was encamped in the straits near Symbolum, they surrounded in such a manner that they obliged him to quit the place. Indeed, he narrowly escaped losing his whole army, which had certainly been the case, had not Antony come to his relief with such amazing expedition that Brutus could not believe it to be possible. Cæsar, who had been kept behind by sickness, joined his army about ten days after. Brutus was encamped over against him; Cassius was opposite to Antony. *The space between the two armies the Romans call the plains of Philippi. Two armies of Romans equal in numbers to these, had never before met to engage each other.* Cæsar's was something superior in numbers: but in the splendour of arms and equipage was far exceeded by that of Brutus; for most of their arms were of gold and silver, which their general had liberally bestowed upon them. Brutus, in other things, had accustomed his officers to frugality; but the riches which his soldiers carried about with them, would at once, he thought, add to the spirit of the ambitious, and make the covetous valiant in the defence of those arms, which were their principal wealth.

Cæsar made a lustration of his army within the camp, and gave each private man a little corn, and 5 drachmas only for the sacrifice. But Brutus, to show his contempt of the poverty or the avarice of Cæsar, made a public lustration of his army in the field, and not only distributed cattle to each cohort for the sacrifice, but gave 50 drachmas on the occasion to each private man. Of course he was more beloved by his soldiers, and they were more ready to fight for him. It is reported, that, during the lustration, an unlucky omen happened to Cassius. The garland he was to wear at the sacrifice was presented to him, the wrong side outwards. It is said too, that at a solemn procession, some time before, the person who bore the golden image of victory before Cassius, happened to stumble, and the image fell to the ground. *Several birds of prey hovered daily about the camp, and swarms of bees were seen within the trenches.* Upon which, the soothsayers ordered the part where they appeared to be shut up; for Cassius, with all his Epicurean

philosophy, began to be superstitious, and the soldiers were extremely disheartened by these omens.

For this reason Cassius was inclined to protract the war, and unwilling to hazard the whole of the event on a present engagement. What made him for this measure too was, that they were stronger in money and provisions, but inferior in numbers. Brutus, on the other hand, was, as usual, for an immediate decision; that he might either give liberty to his country, or rescue his fellow-citizens from the toils and expenses of war. He was encouraged likewise by the success his cavalry met with in several skirmishes; and some instances of desertion and mutiny in the camp, brought over many of the friends of Cassius to his opinion. But there was one Attellius, who still opposed an immediate decision, and advised to put it off till the next winter. When Brutus asked him what advantages he expected from that, he answered, "If I gain nothing else, I shall at least live so much the longer." Both Cassius and the rest of the officers were displeased with this answer; and it was determined to give battle the day following.

Brutus, that night, expressed great confidence and cheerfulness; and having passed the time of supper in philosophical conversation, he went to rest. Messala says, that Cassius supped in private with some of his most intimate friends; and that, contrary to his usual manner, he was pensive and silent. He adds, that, after supper, he took him by the hand, and pressing it close, as he commonly did, in token of his friendship, he said in Greek,—“Bear witness, Messala, that I am reduced to the same necessity with Pompey the Great, of hazarding the liberty of my country on one battle.” Yet I have confidence in our good fortune, on which we ought still to rely, though the measures we have resolved upon are indiscreet.” These, Messala tells us, were the last words that Cassius spoke, before he bade him *farewell*; and that the next day, being his birthday, he invited Cassius to sup with him.

Next morning, *as soon as it was light, the scarlet robe, which was the signal for battle, was hung out in the tents of Brutus and Cassius*; and they themselves met on the plain between the two armies. On this occasion, Cassius thus addressed himself to Brutus:—“May the gods, Brutus, make this day successful, that we may pass the rest of our days together in prosperity. But as the most important of human events are the most uncertain; and as we may never see each other any more, if we are unfortunate on this occasion, tell me what is your resolution concerning flight and death.”

Brutus, answered: “In the younger and less experienced part of my life, I was led, upon philosophical principles, to condemn the conduct of Cato, in killing himself. I thought it at once impious and unmanly to sink beneath the stroke of fortune, and to refuse the lot that had befallen us. In my present situation, however, I am of a different opinion. So that if Heaven should now be unfavourable to our wishes, I will no longer solicit my hopes or my fortune, but die contented with it, such as it is. *On the idea of*

March I devoted my life to my country; and since that time I have lived in liberty and glory." At these words Cassius smiled, and embracing Brutus, said, "Let us march then against the enemy; for with these resolutions, though we should not conquer, we have nothing to fear!" They then consulted with their friends concerning the order of battle. Brutus desired that he might command the right wing, though the post was thought more proper for Cassius on account of his experience: Cassius, however, gave it up to him, and placed Messala, with the best of his legions, in the same wing. Brutus immediately drew out his cavalry, which were equipped with great magnificence, and the foot followed close upon them.

Antony's soldiers were at this time employed in making a trench from the marsh where they were encamped, to cut off Cassius's communication with the sea. Cæsar lay still in his tent, confined by sickness. His soldiers were far from expecting that the enemy would come to a pitched battle. They supposed that they were only making excursions to harass the trench-diggers with their light arms; and not perceiving that they were pouring in close upon them, they were astonished at the outcry they heard from the trenches. Brutus, in the meantime, sent tickets to the several officers with the word of battle, and rode through the ranks to encourage his men. There were few who had patience to wait for the word. The greatest part, before it could reach them, fell with loud shouts upon the enemy. This precipitate onset threw the army into confusion, and separated the legions. Messala's legion first got beyond the left wing of Cæsar, and was followed by those that were stationed near him. In their way they did nothing more than throw some of the outmost ranks into disorder, and killed few of the enemy; their great object was to fall upon Cæsar's camp, and they made directly up to it. Cæsar himself, as he tells us in his Commentaries, had but just before been conveyed out of his tent; in consequence of a vision of his friend Artorius, which commanded that he should be carried out of the camp. This made it believed that he was slain; for the soldiers had pierced his empty litter in many places with darts. Those who were taken in the camp were put to the sword, amongst whom were 2,000 Lacedæmonian auxiliaries. Those who attacked Cæsar's legions in front easily put them to the rout, and cut three legions in pieces. After this, borne along with the impetuosity of victory, they rushed into the camp at the same time with the fugitives, and Brutus was in the midst of them. The flank of Brutus's army was now left unguarded, by the separation of the right wing, which was gone off too far in the pursuit; and the enemy perceiving this endeavoured to take advantage of it. They accordingly attacked it with great fury, but could make no impression on the main body, which received them with firmness and unshaken resolution. The left wing, however, which was under the command of Cassius, was soon put to the rout; for the men were in great disorder, and knew nothing of what had passed in the right wing. The enemy pursued him into the camp, which they plundered and destroyed,

though neither of their generals were present. Antony, it is said, to avoid the fury of the first onset, had retired into the adjoining marsh ; and Cæsar, who had been carried sick out of the camp, was nowhere to be found. Nay, some of the soldiers would have persuaded Brutus that they had killed Cæsar, describing his age and person, and showing him their bloody swords.

The main body of Brutus's army had now made prodigious havoc of the enemy ; and Brutus, in his department, was no less absolutely conqueror, than Cassius was conquered. The want of knowing this was the ruin of their affairs. Brutus neglected to relieve Cassius, because he knew not that he wanted relief.

When Brutus had destroyed the camp of Cæsar, and was returning from the pursuit, he was surprised that he could neither perceive the tent of Cassius above the rest, as usual, nor any of those that were about it ; for they had been demolished by the enemy, on their first entering the camp. Some, who were of quicker sight than the rest, told him that they could perceive a motion of shining helmets and silver targets in the camp of Cassius, and supposed, from their numbers and their armour, that they could not be those who were left to guard the camp ; though at the same time there was not so great an appearance of dead bodies as there must have been after the defeat of so many legions. This gave Brutus the first suspicion of Cassius's misfortune ; and, leaving a sufficient guard in the enemy's camp, he called off the rest from the pursuit, and led them, in order, to the relief of Cassius.

The case of that general was this :—He was chagrined, at first, by the irregular conduct of Brutus's soldiers, who began the attack without waiting for the command ; and, afterwards, by their attention to plunder, whereby they neglected to surround and cut off the enemy. Thus dissatisfied, he trifled with his command ; and, for want of vigilance, suffered himself to be surrounded by the enemy's right wing ; upon which his cavalry quitted their post, and fled towards the sea. The foot, likewise, began to give way ; and though he laboured as much as possible to stop their flight, and snatching an ensign from the hand of one of the fugitives, fixed it at his feet, yet he was hardly able to keep his own prætorian band together ; so that at length he was obliged to retire, with a very small number, to a hill that overlooked the plain. Yet here he could discover nothing ; for he was short-sighted, and it was with some difficulty that he could perceive his own camp plundered. His companions, however, saw a large detachment of horse, which Brutus had sent to their relief, making up to them. These Cassius concluded to be the enemy that were in pursuit of him : notwithstanding which, he despatched Titinius to reconnoitre them. When the cavalry of Brutus saw this faithful friend of Cassius approach they shouted for joy. His acquaintance leaped from their horses to embrace him, and the rest rode round him with clashing of arms, and all the clamorous expressions of gladness. This circumstance had a fatal effect. Cassius took it for granted, that Titinius was seized by the enemy, and regretted, that, through a

weak desire of life, he had suffered his friend to fall into their hands. When he had expressed himself to this effect, he retired into an empty tent, accompanied only by his freedman Pindarus, whom, ever since the defeat of Crassus, he had retained for a particular purpose. In that defeat he escaped out of the hands of the Parthians ; but now, wrapping his robe about his face, he laid bare his neck, and commanded Pindarus to cut off his head. This was done : for his head was found severed from his body ; but whether Pindarus did it by his master's command, has been suspected ; because he never afterwards appeared. It was soon discovered who the cavalry were, and Titinius, crowned with garlands, came to the place where he left Cassius. When the lamentations of his friends informed him of the unhappy fate of his general, he severely reproached himself for the tardiness which had occasioned it, and fell upon his sword.

Brutus, when he was assured of the defeat of Cassius, made all possible haste to his relief ; but he knew nothing of his death till he came up to his camp. There he lamented over his body, and called him *the last of Romans* : intimating, that Rome would never produce another man of equal spirit. He ordered his funeral to be celebrated at Thasus, that it might not occasion any disorder in the camp. His dispersed and dejected soldiers he collected and encouraged ; and as they had been stripped of everything by the enemy, he promised them 2,000 drachmas a man. This munificence at once encouraged and surprised them : they attended him at his departure with great acclamations, and complimented him as the only general of the four who had not been beaten. Brutus was confident of victory, and the event justified that confidence : for, with a few legions, he overcame all that opposed him, and if most of his soldiers had not passed the enemy in pursuit of plunder, the battle must have been decisive in his favour. He lost 8,000 men, including the servants, whom he calls *Briges*. Messala says, he supposes the enemy lost more than twice that number. And, of course, they were more discouraged than Brutus, till Demetrius, a servant of Cassius, went over to Antony in the evening, and carried him his master's robe and sword, which he had taken from the dead body. This so effectually encouraged the enemy, that they were drawn up in form of battle by break of day. Both camps, in the occupation of Brutus, involved him in difficulties. His own, full of prisoners, required a strong guard. At the same time many of the soldiers of Cassius murmured at their change of master, and the vanquished were naturally envious and jealous of the victors. He, therefore, thought proper to draw up his army, but not to fight.

All the slaves he had taken prisoners, being found practising with his soldiers, were put to the sword : but most of the freedmen and citizens were dismissed ; and he told them, at the same time, that they were more truly prisoners in the hands of the enemy than in his ; with them, he said, they were slaves indeed : but with him, freedmen and citizens of Rome. He was obliged, however, to

dismiss them privately ; for they had implacable enemies amongst his own friends and officers. Amongst the prisoners were Volumnius, a mimic, and Saculio, a buffoon, of whom Brutus took no notice, till they were brought before him, and accused of continuing, even in their captivity, their scurrilous jests and abusive language. Yet, still taken up with more important concerns, he paid no regard to the accusation : but Messala Corvinus was of opinion, that they should be publicly whipped, and sent naked to the enemy, as proper associates and convivial companions for such generals. Some were entertained with the idea, and laughed ; but Publius Casca, the first that wounded Cæsar, observed, that it was indecent to celebrate the obsequies of Cassius with jesting and laughter. "As for you, Brutus," said he, "it will be seen what esteem you have for the memory of that general, when you have either punished or pardoned those who ridicule and revile him." Brutus resented this expostulation, and said, "Why is this business thrown upon me, Casca ? Why do not you do what you think proper ?" This answer was considered as an assent to their death ; so the poor wretches were carried off and slain.

He now gave the promised rewards to his soldiers ; and after gently rebuking them for beginning the assault without waiting for the word of battle, he promised, that if they acquitted themselves to his satisfaction in the next engagement, he would give them up the cities of Lacedæmon and Thessalonica to plunder. This is the only circumstance in his life for which no apology can be made. For though Antony and Cæsar afterwards acted with more unbounded cruelty in rewarding their soldiers ; though they deprived most of the ancient inhabitants of Italy of their lands, and gave them to those who had no title to them ; yet they acted consistently with their first principle, which was the acquisition of empire and arbitrary power. But Brutus maintained such a reputation for virtue, that he was neither allowed to conquer, nor even to save himself, except on the strictest principles of honour and justice ; more particularly since the death of Cassius, to whom, if any act of violence were committed, it was generally imputed. However, as sailors, when their rudder is broken in a storm, substitute some other piece of wood in its place ; and though they cannot steer so well as before, do the best they can in their necessity ; so Brutus, at the head of so vast an army, and such important affairs, unassisted by any officer that was equal to the charge, was obliged to make use of such advisers as he had ; and he generally followed the counsel of those who proposed anything that might bring Cassius's soldiers to order : for these were extremely untractable ; insolent in the camp, for want of their general, though cowardly in the field, from the remembrance of their defeat.

The affairs of Cæsar and Antony were not in a much better condition. Provisions were scarce, and the marshy situation of their camp made them dread the winter. They already began to fear the inconveniences of it ; for the autumnal rains had fallen heavy after the battle, and their tents were filled with mire and water ; which,

from the coldness of the weather, immediately froze. In this situation they received intelligence of their loss at sea.—Their fleet, which was coming from Italy with a large supply of soldiers, was met by that of Brutus, and so totally defeated that the few who escaped were reduced by famine to eat the sails and tackle of the ships. It was now determined, on Cæsar's side, that they should come to battle, before Brutus was made acquainted with his success. It appears that the fight, both by sea and land, was on the same day; but, by some accident, rather than the fault of their officers, Brutus knew nothing of his victory till twenty days after. Had he been informed of it, he would never, certainly, have hazarded a second battle: for he had provisions for a considerable length of time, and his army was so advantageously posted that it was safe both from the injuries of the weather and the incursions of the enemy. Besides, knowing that he was wholly master at sea, and partly victorious by land, he would have had everything imaginable to encourage him; and could not have been urged to any dangerous measures by despair.

But it seems that the republican form of government was no longer to subsist in Rome; that it necessarily required a monarchy; and that Providence, to remove the only man who could oppose its destined master, kept the knowledge of that victory from him till it was too late. And yet, how near was he to receiving the intelligence! The very evening before the engagement, a deserter, named Clodius, came over from the enemy to tell him, that Cæsar was informed of the loss of his fleet, and that this was the reason of his hastening the battle. The deserter, however, was considered either as designing or ill-informed: his intelligence was disregarded, and he was not even admitted into the presence of Brutus.

That night, they say, the spectre appeared again to Brutus, and assumed its former figure, but vanished without speaking. Yet Publius Volumnius, a philosophical man, who had borne arms with Brutus during the whole war, makes no mention of this prodigy; though he says, *that the first standard was covered with a swarm of bees*; and that the arm of one of the officers sweated oil of roses, which would not cease though they often wiped it off. He says, too, *that immediately before the battle, two eagles fought in the space between the two armies; and that there was an incredible silence and attention in the field, till that on the side of Brutus was beaten and flew away.* The story of the Ethiopian is well known, who, meeting the standard bearer opening the gate of the camp, was cut in pieces by the soldiers; for *that* they interpreted as an ill omen.

When Brutus had drawn up his army in form of battle, he paused some time before he gave the word. While he was visiting the ranks, he had suspicions of some, and heard accusations of others. The cavalry he found had no ardour for the attack, but seemed waiting to see what the foot would do. Besides, Camulatus, a soldier in the highest estimation for valour, rode close by Brutus, and went ever to the enemy in his sight. This hurt him inexpress-

sibly; and partly out of anger, partly from fear of further desertion and treachery, he led his forces against the enemy about three in the afternoon. Where he fought in person he was still successful. He charged the enemy's left wing, and, the cavalry following the impression which the foot had made, it was put to the rout. But when the other wing of Brutus was ordered to advance, the inferiority of their numbers made them apprehensive that they should be surrounded by the enemy. For this reason they extended their ranks in order to cover more ground; by which means the centre of the left wing was so much weakened that it could not sustain the shock of the enemy, but fled at the first onset. After their dispersion, the enemy surrounded Brutus, who did everything that the bravest and most expert general could do in his situation, and whose conduct at least entitled him to victory. But what seemed an advantage in the first engagement proved a disadvantage in the second. In the former battle, that wing of the enemy which was conquered was totally cut off; but most of the men in the conquered wing of Cassius were saved. This, at the time, might appear as an advantage, but it proved a prejudice. The remembrance of their former defeat filled them with terror and confusion, which they spread through the greatest part of the army.

Marcus, the son of Cato, was slain fighting amidst the bravest of the young nobility. He scorned alike either to fly or to yield; but, avowing who he was, and assuming his father's name, still used his sword, till he fell upon the heaps of the slaughtered enemy. Many other brave men, who exposed themselves for the preservation of Brutus, fell at the same time.

Lucilius, a man of great worth, and his intimate friend, observed some barbarian horse riding full speed against Brutus in particular, and was determined to stop them, though at the hazard of his own life. He, therefore, told them that he was Brutus; and they believed him, because he pretended to be afraid of Cæsar, and desired to be conveyed to Antony. Exulting in their capture, and thinking themselves peculiarly fortunate, they carried him along with them by night, having previously sent an account to Antony of their success, who was infinitely pleased with it, and came out to them. Many others, likewise, when they heard that Brutus was brought alive, assembled to see him. And some pitied his misfortunes, while others accused him of an inglorious meanness, in suffering the love of life to betray him into the hands of barbarians. When he approached, and Antony was deliberating in what manner he should receive Brutus, Lucilius first addressed him, and, with great intrepidity, said, "Antony, be assured that Brutus neither is nor will be taken by an enemy. Forbid it, Heaven, that fortune should have such a triumph over virtue! Whether he shall be found alive or dead, he will be found in a state becoming Brutus. I imposed on your soldiers, and am prepared to suffer the worst you can inflict upon me." Thus spoke Lucilius, to the no small astonishment of those that were present. When Antony, addressing himself to those that brought him, said, "I perceive, fellow soldiers,

that you are angry at this imposition of Lucilius. But you have really got a better booty than you intended. You sought an enemy ; but you have brought me a friend. I know not how I should have treated Brutus, had you brought him alive ; but I am sure that it is better to have such a man as Lucilius for a friend than for an enemy." When he said this, he embraced Lucilius, recommending him to the care of one of his friends ; and he ever after found him faithful to his interest.

Brutus, attended by a few of his officers and friends, having passed a brook that was overhung with cliffs, and shaded with trees, and being overtaken by night, stopped in a cavity under a large rock. There, casting his eyes on the heavens, which were covered with stars, he repeated two verses, one of which, Volumnius tells us, was this :—

Forgive not, Jove, the cause of this distress.—EURIPIDES, *Idæa*.

The other, he says, had escaped his memory. Upon enumerating the several friends that had fallen before his eyes in the battle, he sighed deeply at the mention of Flavius and Labeo ; the latter of whom was his lieutenant, and the former master of the band of artificers. In the meanwhile one of his attendants being thirsty, and observing Brutus in the same condition, took his helmet, and went to the brook for water. At the same time a noise was heard on the opposite bank, and Volumnius and Dardanus the armour-bearer went to see what it was. In a short time they returned, and asked for the water: "It is all drank up," said Brutus, with a smile ; "but another helmet-full shall be fetched." The man who had brought the first water was therefore sent again ; but he was wounded by the enemy, and made his escape with difficulty.

As Brutus supposed that he had not lost many men in the battle, Statilius undertook to make his way through the enemy (for there was no other way) and see in what condition their camp was. If things were safe there, he was to hold up a torch for a signal, and return. He got safe to the camp ; for the torch was held up. But a long time elapsed and he did not return. "If Statilius were alive," said Brutus, "he would be here." In his return, he fell into the enemy's hands and was slain.

The night was now far spent ; when Brutus, leaning his head towards his servant Clitus, whispered something in his ear. Clitus made no answer, but burst into tears. After that he took his armour-bearer Dardanus aside, and said something to him in private. At last, addressing himself to Volumnius in Greek, he entreated him, in memory of their common studies and exercises, to put his hand to his sword, and help him to give the thrust. Volumnius, as well as several others, refused ; and one of them observing that they must necessarily fly : "*We must fly, indeed,*" said Brutus, rising hastily, "*but not with our feet, but with our hands.*" He then took each of them by the hand, and spoke with great appearance of cheerfulness, to the following purpose. "It is an infinite satisfaction to me, that all my friends have been

faithful. If I am angry with fortune, it is for the sake of my country. Myself I esteem more happy than the conquerors; not only in respect of the past, but in my present situation. I shall leave behind me that reputation for virtue, which they, with all their wealth and power, will never acquire. For posterity will not scruple to believe and declare, that they were an abandoned set of men, who destroyed the virtuous for the sake of that empire to which they had no right." After this he entreated them severally to provide for their own safety; and withdrew with only two or three of his most intimate friends. *One of these was Strato, with whom he first became acquainted when he studied rhetoric. This friend he placed next to himself, and laying hold of the hilt of his sword with both his hands, he fell upon the point, and died.* Some say that Strato, at the earnest request of Brutus, turned aside his head, and held the sword; upon which he threw himself with such violence, that, entering at his breast, it passed quite through his body, and he immediately expired.

Messala, the friend of Brutus, after he was reconciled to Cæsar, took occasion to recommend Strato to his favour. "This," said he, with tears, "is the man who did the last kind office for my dear Brutus." Cæsar received him with kindness; and he was one of those brave Greeks who afterwards attended him at the battle of Actium. Of Messala, it is said, that when Cæsar observed he had been no less zealous in his service at Actium than he had been against him at Philippi, he answered, "I have always taken the best and justest side." When Antony found the body of Brutus, he ordered it to be covered with the richest robe he had: and that being stolen, he put the thief to death. The ashes of Brutus he sent to his mother Servilia.

With regard to Porcia his wife, Nicolaus the philosopher, and Valerius Maximus,¹ tell us, that being prevented from that death she wished for, by the constant vigilance of her friends, she snatched some burning coals from the fire, and shut them close in her mouth till she was suffocated. Notwithstanding, there is a letter from Brutus to his friends, still extant, in which he laments the death of Porcia; and complains that their neglect of her must have made her prefer death to the continuance of her illness. So that Nicolaus appears to have been mistaken in the time, at least, if this epistle be authentic; for it describes Porcia's distemper, her conjugal affection, and the manner of her death.

¹ Valerius Maximus speaks of her fortitude on this occasion, in the highest terms. *Two quoque castissimos Ignas. Porcia, M. Antonia illa cuncta secula debilis admiratione prosequatur: Quæ cum apud Philippum victum et interemptum virum suum Brutum cognovisset, quia fer-*

rum non dabatur, ardentes ore Carbones, seorsus non dubitasti, multisque spiritus civilem patriæ cultum imitata. Sed necia an hoc fortius, quod illa univato, tu novo genere mortis absumpta est. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 6.

ANTONY.

THE grandfather of Mark Antony was Antony the orator, who followed the faction of Sylla, and was put to death by Marius.¹ His father was Antony, surnamed the Cretan, a man of no figure or consequence in the political world,² but distinguished for his integrity, benevolence, and liberality; of which the following little circumstance is a sufficient proof. His fortune was not large; and his wife, therefore, very prudently laid some restraint on his munificent disposition. An acquaintance of his, who was under some pecuniary difficulties, applied to him for assistance. Antony, having no money at command, ordered his boy to bring him a silver basin, full of water, under a pretence of shaving. After the boy was dismissed, he gave the basin to his friend, and bade him make what use of it he thought proper. The disappearance of the basin occasioned no small commotion in the family; and Antony finding his wife prepared to take a severe account of the servants, begged her pardon, and told her the truth.

His wife's name was Julia; she was of the family of the Cæsars, and a woman of distinguished merit and modesty. Under her auspices Mark Antony received his education; when, after the death of his father, she married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death for engaging in the conspiracy of Cataline. This was the origin of that lasting enmity which subsisted between Cicero and Antony. The latter affirmed, that his mother Julia was even obliged to beg the body of Cicero's wife for interment. But this is not true; for none of those who suffered on the same occasion, under Cicero, were refused this privilege. Antony was engaging in his person, and was unfortunate enough to fall into the good graces and friendship of Curio, a man who was devoted to every species of licentiousness, and who, to render Antony the more dependent on him, led him into all the excesses of indulging in wine and women, and all the expenses that such indulgences are attended with. Of course, he was soon deeply involved in debt, and owed at least two hundred and fifty talents, while he was a very young man. Curio was bound for the payment of this money; and his father being informed of it, banished Antony from his house. Thus dismissed, he attached himself to Clodius, that pestilent and audacious tribune, who threw the state into such dreadful disorder; till weary of his mad measures, and fearful of his opponents, he passed into Greece, where he employed himself in military exercises and the study of eloquence. The Asiatic style³ was then much in vogue,

¹ Valerius Maximus says, that Antony the orator was put to death by the joint order of Cinna and Varus. But Cicero mentions Cinna as the immediate cause. Cic. Philipp. i.

² Nevertheless, he conducted the war in Crete, and from thence called *Cretensis*.

³ Cicero, in his *Brutus*, ment ons two

sorts of style called the *Asiatic*. *Unum sententiosum et argutum, sententis non tum gravibus et severis quam concinnis et variis. Aliud autem genus est non tam sententis frequentatum quam verbis volute, atque inclitum; quod nunc est Asia tota, nec summe solum orationis, sed etiam enormis et sacro genere verborum.*

and Antony fell naturally into it ; for it was correspondent with his manners, which were vain, pompous, insolent, and assuming.

In Greece he received an invitation from Gabinus the proconsul, to make a campaign with him in Syria.¹ This invitation he refused to accept, as a private man ; but being appointed to the command of the cavalry, he attended him. His first operation was against Aristobulus, who had excited the Jews to revolt. He was the first who scaled the wall ; and this he did in the highest part. He drove Aristobulus from all his forts ; and afterwards with a handful of men, defeated his numerous army in a pitched battle. Most of the enemy were slain, and Aristobulus and his son were taken prisoners. Upon the conclusion of this war, Gabinus was solicited by Ptolemy to carry his arms into Egypt, and restore him to his kingdom.² The reward of this service was to be ten thousand talents. Most of the officers disapproved of the expedition ; and Gabinus himself did not readily enter into it, though the money pleaded strongly in his behalf. Antony, however, ambitious of great enterprises, and vain of gratifying a suppliant king, used every means to draw Gabinus into the service, and prevailed. It was the general opinion, that the march to Pelusium was more dangerous than the war that was to follow. For they were to pass over a sandy and unwatered country by the filthy marsh of Serbonis, whose stagnant ooze the Egyptians call the exhalations of Typhon ; though it is probably no more than the drainings of the Red Sea, which is there separated from the Mediterranean only by a small neck of land.

Antony being ordered thither with the cavalry, not only seized the straits, but took the large city of Pelusium, and made the garrison prisoners. By this operation he at once opened a secure passage for the army, and a fair prospect of victory for their general. The same love of glory which was so serviceable to his own party, was, on this occasion, advantageous to the enemy. For when Ptolemy entered Pelusium, in the rage of revenge, he would have put the citizens to death, but Antony resolutely opposed it, and prevented him from executing his horrid purpose. In the several actions where he was concerned, he gave distinguished proofs of his conduct and valour, but especially in that manœuvre where, by wheeling about and attacking the enemy in the rear, he enabled those who charged in front to gain a complete victory. For this action he received suitable honours and rewards.

His humane care of the body of Archelaus, who fell in the battle, was taken notice of even by the common men. He had been his intimate friend, and connected with him in the rights of hospitality ; and though he was obliged, by his duty, to oppose him in the field, he no sooner heard that he was fallen, than he ordered search to be made for his body, and interred it with regal magnificence. This conduct made him respected in Alexandria, and admired by the Romans.

¹ Aulus Gabinus was consul in the year of Rome 635 ; and the year following he went into Syria.

² Dion. l. xxiix.

Antony had a noble dignity of countenance, a graceful length of beard, a large forehead, an aquiline nose ; and, upon the whole, the same manly aspect that we see in the pictures and statues of Hercules. There was, indeed, an ancient tradition, that his family was descended from Hercules, by a son of his called Anteon ; and it was no wonder if Antony sought to confirm this opinion, by affecting to resemble him in his air and his dress. Thus when he appeared in public, he wore his vest girt on the hips, a large sword, and over all a coarse mantle. That kind of conduct which would seem disagreeable to others, rendered him the darling of the army. He talked with the soldiers in their own swaggering and ribbald strain—ate and drank with them in public, and would stand to take his victuals at their common table. He was pleasant on the subject of his amours, ready in assisting the intrigues of others, and easy under the raillery to which he was subjected by his own. His liberality to the soldiers and to his friends was the first foundation of his advancement, and continued to support him in that power which he was otherwise weakening by a thousand irregularities. One instance of his liberality I must mention : he had ordered two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas (which the Romans call *denarii*) to be given to one of his friends ; his steward, who was startled at the extravagance of the sum, laid the silver in a heap, that he might see it as he passed. He saw it and inquired what it was for ; “ It is the sum,” answered the steward, “ that you ordered for a present.” Antony perceived his envious design, and, to mortify him still more, said coolly, “ I really thought the sum would have made a better figure. It is too little ; let it be doubled.”¹ This, however, was in the latter part of his life.

Rome was divided into two parties. Pompey was with the senate. The people were for bringing Cæsar with his army out of Gaul. Curio, the friend of Antony, who had changed sides, and joined Cæsar, brought Antony likewise over to his interest. The influence he had obtained by his eloquence, and by that profusion of money in which he was supported by Cæsar, enabled him to make Antony tribune of the people, and afterwards augur. Antony was no sooner in power than Cæsar found the advantage of his services. In the first place he opposed the consul Marcellus, whose design was to give Pompey the command of the old legions, and at the same time to empower him to raise new ones. On this occasion he obtained a decree, that the forces then on foot should be sent into Syria, and join Bibulus in carrying on the war against the Parthians, and that none should give in their names to serve under Pompey. On another occasion, when the senate would neither receive Cæsar's letters, nor suffer them to be read, he read them by virtue of his tribunitial authority ; and the requests of Cæsar appearing moderate and reasonable, by this means he got over many to his interest. Two questions were at length put in the senate ; one, “ Whether Pompey should dismiss his army ;” the other, “ Whether

¹ The same story is told of Alexander.

Cæsar should give up his." There were but a few votes for the former, a large majority for the latter. Then Antony stood up, and put the question, "Whether both Cæsar and Pompey should not dismiss their armies." This motion was received with great acclamations, and Antony was applauded, and desired to put it to the vote. This being opposed by the consuls, the friends of Cæsar made other proposals, which seemed by no means unreasonable: But they were overruled by Cato,¹ and Antony commanded by Lentulus the consul to leave the house. He left them with bitter execrations; and disguising himself like a servant, accompanied only by Quintus Cassius, he hired a carriage and went immediately to Cæsar. As soon as they arrived, they exclaimed that nothing was conducted at Rome according to order or law, that even the tribunes were refused the privilege of speaking, and whoever would rise in defence of the right must be expelled, and exposed to personal danger.

Cæsar, upon this, marched his army into Italy, and hence it was observed by Cicero, in his Philippics, that Antony was no less the cause of the civil war in Rome, than Helen had been of the Trojan war.² There is, however, but little truth in this assertion. Cæsar was not so much a slave to the impulse of resentment as to enter on so desperate a measure, if it had not been premeditated. Nor would he have carried war into the bowels of his country, merely because he saw Antony and Cassius flying to him in a mean dress and a hired carriage. At the same time, these things might give some colour to the commencement of those hostilities which had been long determined. *Cæsar's motive was the same which had before driven Alexander and Cyrus over the ruins of human kind, the insatiable lust of empire, the frantic ambition of being the first man upon earth, which he knew he could not be while Pompey was yet alive.*

As soon as he was arrived at Rome, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, his first design was to attack his legions in Spain, and having a fleet in readiness, to go afterwards in pursuit of Pompey himself, while, in the meantime, Rome was left to the government of Lepidus the prætor, and Italy and the army to the command of Antony the tribune. *Antony, by the sociability of his disposition, soon made himself agreeable to the soldiers; for he ate and drank with them, and made them presents to the utmost of his ability. To others, his conduct was less acceptable. He was too indolent to attend to the cause of the injured, too violent and too impatient when he was applied to on business, and infamous for his adulteries.* In short, though there was nothing tyrannical in the government of Cæsar, it was rendered odious by the ill conduct of his friends; and as Antony had the greatest share of

¹ Cicero asserts, that Antony was the immediate cause of the civil war; but if he could have laid down his prejudice, he might have discovered a more immediate

cause in the impolitic resentment of Cato.

² In the second Philippic. *Ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste hanc reinubecæ causâ bellâ; causa patris atque civitatis fuit.*

the power, so he bore the greatest part of the blame. Cæsar, notwithstanding, on his return from Spain, connived at his irregularities ; and indeed, in the military appointment he had given him, he had not judged improperly ; for *Antony was a brave, skilful, and active general.*

Cæsar embarked at Brundisium, sailed over the Ionian sea with a small number of troops, and sent back the fleet, with orders that Antony and Gabinius should put the army on board, and proceed as fast as possible to Macedonia. Gabinius was afraid of the sea, for it was winter, and the passage was dangerous. He therefore marched his forces a long way round by land. Antony, on the other hand, being apprehensive that Cæsar might be surrounded and overcome by his enemies, beat off Libo, who lay at anchor in the mouth of the haven of Brundisium. By sending out several small vessels, he encompassed Libo's galleys separately, and obliged them to retire. By this means he found an opportunity to embark about 20,000 foot and 800 horse, and with these he set sail. The enemy discovered and made up to him ; but he escaped by favour of a strong gale from the S., which made the sea so rough that the pursuers could not reach him. The same wind, however, at first drove him upon a rocky shore, on which the sea bore so hard that there appeared no hope of escaping shipwreck ; but after a little, it turned to the S.W., and, blowing from land to the main sea, Antony sailed in safety, with the satisfaction of seeing the wrecks of the enemy's fleet scattered along the coast. The storm had driven their ships upon the rocks, and many of them went to pieces. Antony made his advantage of this disaster ; for he took several prisoners and a considerable booty. He likewise made himself master of the town of Lissus ; and, by the seasonable arrival of his reinforcement, the affairs of Cæsar wore a more promising aspect.

Antony distinguished himself in every battle that was fought. Twice he stopped the army in its flight, brought them back to the charge and gained the victory ; so that, *in point of military reputation, he was inferior only to Cæsar.* What opinion Cæsar had of his abilities appeared in the last decisive battle at Pharsalia ; he led the right wing himself, and gave the left to Antony, as to the ablest of his officers. After this battle, Cæsar being appointed dictator, went in pursuit of Pompey, and sent Antony to Rome in character of *general of the horse.* *This officer is next in power to the dictator, and in his absence he commands alone. For, after the election of a dictator, all other magistrates, the tribunes only excepted, are divested of their authority.*

Dolabella, one of the tribunes, a young man who was fond of innovations, proposed a law for abolishing debts, and solicited his friend Antony, who was ever ready to gratify the people, to join him in this measure. On the other hand, Asinius and Trebellius dissuaded him from it. Antony happened, at this time, to suspect a criminal connection between Dolabella and his wife, whom, on that account, he dismissed, though she was his first cousin, and daughter to Caius Antonius, who had been colleague with Cicero.

In consequence of this, he joined Asinius and opposed Dolabella. The latter had taken possession of the forum, with a design to pass his law by force, and Antony being ordered by the senate to repel force with force, attacked him, killed several of his men, and lost some of his own.

By this action he forfeited the favour of the people: but this was not the only thing that rendered him obnoxious; for men of sense and virtue, as Cicero observes, could not but condemn his nocturnal revels, his enormous extravagance, his scandalous lewdness, his sleeping in the day, his walks to carry off the qualms of debauchery, and his entertainments on the marriages of players and buffoons. It is said, that after drinking all night at the wedding of Hippias the player, he was summoned in the morning upon business to the forum, when, through a little too much repletion, he was unfortunate enough, in the presence of the people, to return part of his evening fare by the way it had entered; and one of his friends received it in his gown. Sergius the player had the greatest interest with him; and Cytheris,¹ a lady of the same profession, had the management of his heart. She attended him in his excursions; and her equipage was by no means inferior to his mother's. The people were offended at the pomp of his travelling plate, which was more fit for the ornament of a triumph; at his erecting tents on the road by groves and rivers, for the most luxurious dinners; at his chariots drawn by lions; and at his lodging his ladies of pleasure and female musicians in the houses of modest and sober people. This dissatisfaction at the conduct of Antony could not but be increased by the comparative view of Cæsar. While the latter was supporting the fatigues of a military life, the former was indulging himself in all the dissipation of luxury; and, by means of his delegated power, insulting the citizens.

This conduct occasioned a variety of disturbances in Rome, and gave the soldiers an opportunity to abuse and plunder the people. Therefore, when Cæsar returned to Rome, he pardoned Dolabella; and being created consul the third time, he took Lepidus, and not Antony for his colleague. Antony purchased Pompey's house; but, when he was required to make the payment, he expressed himself in very angry terms; and this he tells us was the reason why he would not go with Cæsar into Africa. His former services he thought insufficiently repaid. Cæsar, however, by his disapprobation of Antony's conduct, seems to have thrown some restraint on his dissolute manner of life. He now took it into his head to marry, and made choice of Fulvia, the widow of the seditious Clodius, a woman by no means adapted to domestic employments, nor even contented with ruling her husband as a private man. Fulvia's ambition was to govern those that governed, and to command the leaders of armies. It was to Fulvia, therefore, that Cleopatra was obliged for teaching Antony due submission to female authority. He had gone through such a course of dis-

¹ Cic. Ep. ad. Att. l. x. ep. 10.

cipline as made him perfectly tractable when he came into her hands.

He endeavoured, however, to amuse the violent spirit of Fulvia by many whimsical and pleasant follies. When Cæsar, after his success in Spain, was on his return to Rome, Antony, amongst others, went to meet him; but a report prevailing that Cæsar was killed, and that the enemy was marching into Italy, he returned immediately to Rome, and, in the disguise of a slave, went to his house by night, pretending that he had letters from Antony to Fulvia. He was introduced to her with his head muffled up; and, before she received the letter, she asked, with impatience, if Antony were well. He presented the letter to her in silence; and, while she was opening it, he threw his arms around her neck and kissed her. We mention this as one instance out of many of his pleasantries.

When Cæsar returned from Spain, most of the principal citizens went some days journey to meet him; but Antony met with the most distinguished reception, and had the honour to ride with Cæsar in the same chariot. After them came Brutus Albinus, and *Octavius, the son of Cæsar's sister, who was afterwards called Augustus Cæsar, and for many years was emperor of Rome.* Cæsar being created consul for the fifth time, chose Antony for his colleague; but as he intended to quit the consulship in favour of Dolabella, he acquainted the senate with his resolution. Antony, notwithstanding, opposed this measure, and loaded Dolabella with the most flagrant reproaches. Dolabella did not fail to return the abuse; and Cæsar, offended at their indecent behaviour, put off the affair till another time. When it was again proposed, Antony insisted that the omens from the flight of birds were against the measure.¹ Thus Cæsar was obliged to give up Dolabella, who was not a little mortified at his disappointment. It appears, however, that Cæsar had as little regard for Dolabella as he had for Antony; for when both were accused of designs against him, he said contemptuously enough, "It is not these flat sleek fellows I am afraid of, but the pale and the lean;" by which he meant Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards put him to death. Antony, without intending it, gave them a pretence for that undertaking: When the Romans were celebrating the Lupercalia, Cæsar, in a triumphal habit, sat on the rostrum to see the race. On this occasion many of the young nobility and the magistracy, anointed with oil, and having white thongs in their hands, run about and strike, as in sport, every one they meet: Antony was of the number, but regardless of the ceremonies of the institution, he took a garland of laurel, and wreathing it in a diadem, ran to the rostrum, where, being lifted up by his companions, he would have placed it on the head of Cæsar, intimating thereby the conveyance of regal power. Cæsar, however, seemed to decline the offer, and was therefore applauded by the people. Antony persisted in his design; and for

¹ He had this power by virtue of his office as *augur*.

some time there was a contest between them, while he that offered the diadem had the applause of his friends, and he that refused it the acclamations of the multitude. Thus, what is singular enough, *while the Romans endured everything that regal power could impose, they dreaded the name of king, as destructive of their liberty.* Cæsar was much concerned at this transaction; and, uncovering his neck, he offered his life to any one that would take it. At length the diadem was placed on one of his statues, but the tribunes took it off;¹ upon which the people followed them home with great acclamations. Afterwards, however, Cæsar showed that he resented this, by turning those tribunes out of office. The enterprise of Brutus and Cassius derived strength and encouragement from these circumstances. To the rest of their friends, whom they had selected for the purpose, they wanted to draw over Antony. Trebonius only objected to him; he informed them that in their journey to meet Cæsar, he had been generally with him; that he had sounded him on this business by hints, which, though cautious, were intelligible; and that he always expressed his disapprobation, though he never betrayed his secret. Upon this it was proposed that Antony should fall at the same time with Cæsar; but Brutus opposed it. An action undertaken in support of justice and the laws, he very properly thought, should have nothing unjust attending it. Of Antony, however, they were afraid, both in respect of his personal valour, and the influence of his office; and it was agreed, that when Cæsar was in the house, and they were on the point of executing their purpose, Antony should be amused without by some pretended discourse of business.

When, in consequence of these measures, Cæsar was slain, Antony absconded in the disguise of a slave; but after he found that the conspirators were assembled in the Capitol, and had no further designs of massacre, he invited them to come down, and sent his son to them as a hostage. That night Cassius supped with him, and Brutus with Lepidus. The day following he assembled the senate, when he proposed that an act of amnesty should be passed; and that provinces should be assigned to Brutus and Cassius. The senate confirmed this, and, at the same time, ratified the acts of Cæsar. Thus Antony acquitted himself in this difficult affair with the highest reputation; and, by saving Rome from a civil war, he proved himself a very able and valuable politician. But the intoxication of glory drew him off from these wise and moderate counsels: and, *from his influence with the people, he felt that if Brutus were borne down, he should be the first man in Rome.* With this view, when Cæsar's body was exposed in the *forum*, he undertook the customary funeral oration; and when he found the people affected with his encomiums on the deceased, he endeavoured still more to excite their compassion, by

¹ Tribuni plebis, Epidius Marcellus, ceterique Flavius corona jactantem detrahi, hominemque ducti in vincula junxerunt, dolens seu parum prospera motam regni

mentionem, etc., ut forebat, creptam sibi gloriam recuandî, tribunos graviter increpitatos potestate privavit. *St. xx.*

all that was pitiable or aggravating in the massacre. For this purpose, in the close of his oration, he took the robe from the dead body, and held it up to them, bloody as it was, and pierced through with weapons; nor did he hesitate, at the same time, to call the perpetrators of the deed villains and murderers. This had such an effect upon the people that they immediately tore up the benches and the tables in the *forum*, to make a pile for the body. After they had duly discharged the funeral rites, they snatched the burning brands from the pile, and went to attack the houses of the conspirators.

Brutus and his party now left the city, and Cæsar's friends joined Antony. Calphurnia, the relict of Cæsar, entrusted him with her treasure, which amounted to 4,000 talents. All Cæsar's papers, which contained a particular account of his designs, were likewise delivered up to him. Of these he made a very ingenious use; for, by inserting in them what names he thought proper, he made some of his friends magistrates, and others senators; some he recalled from exile, and others he dismissed from prison, on pretence that all these things were so ordered by Cæsar. The people that were thus favoured, the Romans called *Charonites*;¹ because, to support their title, they had recourse to the registers of the dead. The power of Antony, in short, was absolute: he was consul himself, his brother Caius was prætor, and his brother Lucius tribune of the people.

Such was the state of affairs when Octavius, who was the son of Cæsar's sister, and appointed his heir by will, arrived at Rome from Apollonia, where he resided when his uncle was killed. He first visited Antony as the friend of his uncle, and spoke to him concerning the money in his hands, and the legacy of 75 drachmas left to every Roman citizen. Antony paid little regard to him at first; and told him, it would be madness for an inexperienced young man, without friends, to take upon him so important an office as that of being executor to Cæsar.

Octavius, however, was not thus repulsed; he still insisted on the money; and Antony, on the other hand, did everything to mortify and affront him. He opposed him in his application for the tribuneship; and when he made use of the golden chair, which had been granted by the senate to his uncle,² he threatened, that unless he desisted to solicit the people, he would commit him to prison. But when Octavius joined Cicero and the rest of Antony's enemies, and by their means obtained an interest in the senate; when he continued to pay his court to the people, and drew the veteran soldiers from their quarters, Antony thought it was time to accommodate; and for this purpose gave him a meeting in the Capitol.

¹ The slaves, who were enfranchised by the last will of their masters, were likewise called *Charonites*.

² The senate had decreed to Cæsar the

privilege of using a golden chair, adorned with a crown of gold and precious stones, in all the theatres. Dion. l. xlv.

An accommodation took place, but it was soon destroyed, for that night Antony dreamed that his right hand was thunderstruck ; and in a few days after he was informed that Octavius had a design on his life. The latter would have justified himself, but was not believed, so that, of course, the breach became as wide as ever. They now went immediately over Italy, and endeavoured to be beforehand with each other, in securing, by rewards and promises, the old troops that were in different quarters, and such legions as were still on foot.

Cicero, who had then considerable influence in the city, incensed the people against Antony, and prevailed on the senate to declare him a public enemy ; to send the rods and the rest of the prætorial ensigns to young Cæsar, and to commission Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls, to drive Antony out of Italy. The two armies engaged near Modena; and Cæsar was present at the battle. Both the consuls were slain ; but Antony was defeated ; in his flight he was reduced to great extremities, particularly by famine. Distress, however, was to him, a school of moral improvement ; and *Antony, in adversity, was almost a man of virtue*. Indeed it is common for men under misfortunes to have a clear idea of their duty ; but a change of conduct is not always the consequence. On such occasions they too often fall back into their former manners, through the inactivity of reason, and infirmity of mind. But Antony was even a pattern for his soldiers. From all the varieties of luxurious living, he came with readiness to drink a little stinking water, and to feed on the wild fruits and roots of the desert. Nay, it is said, that they ate the very bark of the trees ; and, that in passing the Alps, they fed on creatures that had never been accounted human food.

Antony's design was to join Lepidus, who commanded the army on the other side of the Alps ; and he had a reasonable prospect of his friendship, from the good offices he had done him with Julius Cæsar. When he came within a small distance of him he encamped ; but receiving no encouragement, he resolved to hazard all upon a single cast. His hair was uncombed, and his beard, which he had not shaven since his defeat, was long. In this forlorn figure, with a mourning mantle thrown over him, he came to the camp of Lepidus, and addressed himself to the soldiers. While some were affected with his appearance, and others with his eloquence, Lepidus, afraid of the consequence, ordered the trumpets to sound, that he might no longer be heard. This, however, contributed to heighten the compassion of the soldiers ; so that they sent Lælius and Clodius in the dress of those ladies who hired out their favours to the army, to assure Antony, that if he had resolution enough to attack the camp of Lepidus, he would meet with many who were not only ready to receive him, but, if he should desire it, to kill Lepidus. Antony would not suffer any violence to be offered to Lepidus ; but the day following, at the head of his troops, he crossed the river which lay between the two camps, and had the satisfaction to see Lepidus's soldiers all the while

stretching out their hands to him, and making way through the entrenchments.

When he had possessed himself of the camp of Lepidus, he treated him with great humanity. He saluted him by the name of father; and though, in reality, everything was in his own power, he secured to him the title and the honours of general. This conduct brought over Munatius Plancus, who was at the head of a considerable force at no great distance. Thus Antony was once more very powerful, and returned into Italy with 17 entire legions of foot, and 10,000 horse. Besides these, he left six legions as a garrison in Gaul, under the command of Varius, one of his convivial companions, whom they called *Cotylon*.¹

Octavius, when he found that Cicero's object was to restore the liberties of the commonwealth, soon abandoned him, and came to an accommodation with Antony. They met together with Lepidus, in a small river island,² where the conference lasted three days. *The empire of the world was divided amongst them like a paternal inheritance; and this they found no difficulty in settling.* But whom they should kill, and whom they should spare, it was not so easy to adjust, while each was for saving his respective friends, and putting to death his enemies. At length their resentment against the latter overcame their kindness for the former. *Octavius gave up Cicero to Antony; and Antony sacrificed his uncle Lucius Cæsar to Octavius; while Lepidus had the privilege of putting to death his own brother Paulus.* Though others say, that Lepidus gave up Paulus to them,³ though they had required him to put him to death himself. I believe there never was anything so atrocious, or so execrably savage as this commerce of murder; for while a friend was given up for an enemy received, the same action murdered at once the friend and the enemy; and the destruction of the former was still more horrible, because it had not even resentment for its apology.

When this confederacy had taken place, the army desired it might be confirmed by some alliance: and Cæsar, therefore, was to marry Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, Antony's wife. As soon as this was determined, they marked down such as they intended to put to death; the number of which amounted to three hundred. When Cicero was slain, Antony ordered his head, and the hand with which he wrote his Philippics, to be cut off; and when they were presented him, he laughed, and exulted at the sight. After he was satiated with looking upon them, he ordered them to be placed on the *rostra* in the *forum*. But this insult on the dead was, in fact, an abuse of his own good fortune, and of the power it had placed in his hands.⁴ When his uncle Lucius Cæsar was pursued by his

¹ From a half pint bumper; a Greek measure so called.

² In the Rhine, not far from Bologna.

³ The former English translator ought not to have omitted this because it somewhat softens at least the character

of Lepidus, who was certainly the least execrable villain of the three.

⁴ Were there any circumstance in Antony's life that could be esteemed an instance of true magnanimity, the total want of that virtue in this case would prove that such a circumstance was merely accidental.

murderers he fled for refuge to his sister ; and when the pursuers had broken into the house, and were forcing their way into his chamber, she placed herself at the door, and, stretching forth her hands, she cried, " You shall not kill Lucius Cæsar till you have first killed me, the mother of your general." By this means she saved her brother.

This triumvirate was very odious to the Romans ; but Antony bore the greater blame ; for he was not only older than Cæsar, and more powerful than Lepidus, but, when he was no longer under difficulties, he fell back into the former irregularities of his life. His abandoned and dissolute manners were the more obnoxious to the people by his living in the house of Pompey the Great, a man no less distinguished by his temperance and modesty, than by the honour of three triumphs. They were mortified to see these doors shut with insolence against magistrates, generals, and ambassadors ; while they were open to players, jugglers, and sottish sycophants, on whom he spent the greatest part of those treasures he had amassed by rapine. Indeed, the triumvirate were by no means scrupulous about the manner in which they procured their wealth. They seized and sold the estates of those who had been proscribed, and, by false accusations, defrauded their widows and orphans. They burdened the people with insupportable impositions ; and being informed that *large sums of money, the property both of strangers and citizens, were deposited in the hands of the vestals*, they took them away by violence. When Cæsar found that Antony's covetousness was as boundless as his prodigality, he demanded a division of the treasure. The army too was divided. Antony and Cæsar went into Macedonia against Brutus and Cassius ; and the government of Rome was left to Lepidus.

When they had encamped in sight of the enemy, Antony opposite to Cassius, and Cæsar to Brutus, Cæsar effected nothing extraordinary, but Antony's efforts were still successful. In the first engagement Cæsar was defeated by Brutus ; his camp was taken ; and he narrowly escaped by flight, though, in his Commentaries, he tells us, that, on account of a dream which happened to one of his friends, he had withdrawn before the battle. Cassius was defeated by Antony ; and yet there are those, too, who say, that Antony was not present at the battle, but only joined in the pursuit afterwards. As Cassius knew nothing of the success of Brutus, he was killed at his own earnest entreaty by his freedman Pindarus. Another battle was fought soon after, in which Brutus was defeated ; and, in consequence of that, slew himself. Cæsar happened, at that time, to be sick, and the honour of this victory, likewise, of course fell to Antony. As he stood over the body of Brutus, he slightly reproached him for the death of his brother Caius, whom, in revenge for the death of Cicero, Brutus had slain in Macedonia. It appeared, however, that Antony did not impute the death of Caius so much to Brutus as to Hortensius ; for he ordered the latter to be slain upon his brother's tomb. *He threw his*

purple robe over the body of Brutus, and ordered one of his freedmen to do the honours of his funeral. When he was afterwards informed, that he had not burned the robe with the body, and that he had retained part of the money which was to be expended on the ceremony, he commanded him to be slain. After this victory Cæsar was conveyed to Rome; and it was expected that his distemper would put an end to his life. Antony having traversed some of the provinces of Asia for the purpose of raising money, passed with a large army into Greece. Contributions, indeed, were absolutely necessary, when a gratuity of 5,000 drachmas had been promised to every private man.

Antony's behaviour was at first very acceptable to the Grecians. He attended the disputes of their logicians, their public diversions, and religious ceremonies. He was mild in the administration of justice, and affected to be called the friend of Greece; but particularly the friend of Athens, to which he made considerable presents. The Megarensians vying with the Athenians in exhibiting something curious, invited him to see their senate-house, and when they asked him how he liked it, he told them it was little and ruinous. He took the dimensions of the temple of Apollo Pythius, as if he had intended to repair it; and, indeed, he promised as much to the senate.

But when, leaving Lucius Censorinus in Greece, he once more passed into Asia; when he had enriched himself with the wealth of the country; when his house was the resort of obsequious kings, and queens contended for his favour by their beauty and munificence; then, whilst Cæsar was harassed with seditions at Rome, Antony once more gave up his soul to luxury, and fell into all the dissipations of his former life. The Anaxenores and the Zuthi, the harpers and pipers, Metrodorus the dancer, the whole corps of the Asiatic drama who far outdid in buffoonery the poor wretches of Italy; these were the people of the court, the folks that carried all before them. In short, all was riot and disorder. And Asia, in some measure, resembled the city mentioned by Sophocles (Ed. Sc. 1.), that was at once filled with the perfumes of sacrifices, songs, and groans.

When Antony entered Ephesus, the women in the dress of Bacchanals, and men and boys habited like Pan and the satyrs, marched before him. Nothing was to be seen through the whole city but ivy crowns, and spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and pipes, while Antony was hailed by the name of Bacchus.

—"Bacchus! ever kind and free!"

And such, indeed he was to some; but to others he was savage and severe. He deprived many noble families of their fortunes, and bestowed them on sycophants and parasites. Many were represented to be dead, who were still living: and commissions were given to his knaves for seizing their estates. He gave his cook the estate of a Magnesian citizen for dressing one supper to his taste: but when he laid a double impost on Asia, Hybrias, the

agent for the people, told him, with a pleasantry that was agreeable to his humour, that "If he doubled the taxes, he ought to double the seasons too, and supply the people with two summers and two winters." He added, at the same time, with a little asperity, that, "As Asia had already raised 200,000 talents, if he had not received it, he should demand it of those who had; but," said he, "if you received it and yet have it not, we are undone." This touched him sensibly; for he was ignorant of many things that were transacted under his authority; not that he was indolent, but unsuspecting. He had a simplicity in his nature without much penetration. But when he found that faults had been committed, he expressed the greatest concern and acknowledgment to the sufferers. He was prodigal in his rewards, and severe in his punishments; but the excess was rather in the former than in the latter. The insulting raillery of his conversation carried its remedy along with it; for he was perfectly liberal in allowing the retort, and gave and took with the same good humour. This, however, had a bad effect on his affairs. He imagined that those who treated him with freedom in conversation would not be insincere in business. He did not perceive that his sycophants were artful in their freedom; that they used it as a kind of poignant sauce to prevent the satiety of flattery; and that, by taking these liberties with him at table, they knew well, that when they complied with his opinions in business, he would not think it the effect of complaisance, but a conviction of his superior judgment.

Such was the frail, the flexible Antony, when the love of Cleopatra came into the completion of his ruin. This awakened every dormant vice, inflamed every guilty passion, and totally extinguished the gleams of remaining virtue. When he first set out on his expedition against the Parthians, he sent orders to Cleopatra to meet him in Cilicia, that she might answer some accusations which had been laid against her of assisting Cassius in the war. Dellius, who went on this message, no sooner observed the beauty and address of Cleopatra, than he concluded that such a woman, far from having anything to apprehend from the resentment of Antony, would certainly have great influence over him. He therefore paid his court to the amiable Egyptian, and solicited her to go, as Homer says, "in her best attire,"¹ into Cilicia; assuring her, that she had nothing to fear from Antony, who was the most courtly general in the world. Induced by this invitation, and in the confidence of that beauty which had before touched the hearts of Cæsar and young Pompey, she entertained no doubt of the conquest of Antony. When Cæsar and Pompey had her favours, she was young and inexperienced; but she was to meet Antony at an age when beauty, in its full perfection, called in the maturity of the understanding to its aid. Prepared, therefore, with such treasures, ornaments, and presents, as were suitable to the dignity and

¹ Urom. II. xiv. l. 162. It is thus that Juno proposes to meet Jupiter, when she

has a particular design of inspiring him with love.

affluence of her kingdom, but chiefly relying on her personal charms, she set off for Cilicia.

Though she had received many pressing letters of invitation from Antony and his friends she held him in such contempt that she by no means took the most expeditious method of travelling. *She sailed along the river Cydnus in a most magnificent galley. The stern was covered with gold, the sails were of purple, and the oars were silver. These, in their motion, kept time to the music of flutes, and pipes and harps. The queen, in the dress and character of Venus, lay under a canopy embroidered with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship, while boys, like painted cupids, stood fanning her on each side of the sofa. Her maids were of the most distinguished beauty, and, habited like the Nereids and the Graces, assisted in the steerage and conduct of the vessel. The fragrance of burning incense was diffused along the shores, which were covered with multitudes of people. Some followed the procession, and such numbers went down from the city to see it, that Antony was at last left alone on the tribunal. A rumour was soon spread, that Venus was come to feast with Bacchus, for the benefit of Asia.* Antony sent to invite her to supper; but she thought it his duty to wait upon her, and, to show his politeness on her arrival, he complied. He was astonished at the magnificence of the preparations; but particularly at that multitude of lights, which were raised or let down together, and disposed in such a variety of square and circular figures, that they afforded one of the most pleasing spectacles that has been recorded in history. The day following Antony invited her to sup with him, and was ambitious to outdo her in the elegance and magnificence of the entertainment. But he was soon convinced that he came short of her in both, and was the first to ridicule the meanness and vulgarity of his treat. As she found that Antony's humour savoured more of the camp than of the court, she fell into the same coarse vein, and played upon him without the least reserve. *Such was the variety of her powers in conversation: her beauty, it is said, was neither astonishing nor inimitable; but it derived a force from her wit, and her fascinating manner, which was absolutely irresistible. Her voice was delightfully melodious, and had the same variety of modulation as an instrument of many strings. She spoke most languages; and there were but few of the foreign ambassadors whom she answered by an interpreter. She gave audience herself to the Ethiopians, the Troglodites, the Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes, and Parthians. Nor were these all the languages she understood, though the kings of Egypt, her predecessors, could hardly ever attain to the Egyptian; and some of them forgot even their original Macedonian.*

Antony was so wholly engrossed with her charms that while his wife Fulvia was maintaining his interest at Rome against Cæsar, and the Parthian forces, assembled under the conduct of Labienus in Mesopotamia, were ready to enter Syria, she led her amorous captive in triumph to Alexandria. There the veteran warrior fell

into every idle excess of puerile amusement, and offered at *the shrine of luxury* what Antipho calls the greatest of all sacrifices, *the sacrifice of time*. This mode of life they called the *inimitable*. They visited each other alternately every day; and the profusion of their entertainments is almost incredible. Philotas, a physician of Amphissa, who was at that time pursuing his studies in Alexandria, told my grandfather Lamprias, that being acquainted with one of Antony's cooks, he was invited to see the preparations for supper. When he came into the kitchen, beside an infinite variety of other provisions, he observed eight wild boars roasting whole; and expressed his surprise at the number of the company for whom this enormous provision must have been made. The cook laughed, and said, that the company did not exceed twelve: but that as every dish was to be roasted to a single turn, and as Antony was uncertain as to the time when he would sup, particularly if an extraordinary bottle, or an extraordinary vein of conversation was going round, it was necessary to have a succession of suppers. Philotas added, that being afterwards in the service of Antony's eldest son by Fulvia, he was admitted to sup with him, when he did not sup with his father; and it once happened that, when another physician at table had tired the company with his noise and impertinence, he silenced him with the following sophism: *There are some degrees of a fever in which cold water is good for a man; every man, who has a fever, has it in some degree; and, therefore, cold water is good for every man in a fever*. The impertinent man was struck dumb with this syllogism; and Antony's son, who laughed at his distress, to reward Philotas for his good offices, pointing to a magnificent side-board of plate, said, "All that, Philotas, is yours!" Philotas acknowledged the kind offer; but thought it too much for such a boy to give. And, afterwards, when a servant brought the plate to him in a chest, that he might put his seal upon it, he refused, and indeed, was afraid to accept it: upon which the servant said, "What are you afraid of? Do not you consider that this is a present from the son of Antony, who could easily give you its weight in gold? However, I would recommend it to you to take the value of it in money. In this plate there may be some curious pieces of ancient workmanship that Antony may set a value on. Such are the anecdotes which my grandfather told me he had from Philotas.

Cleopatra was not limited to Plato's (Gorgius) four kinds of flattery. She had an infinite variety of it. Whether Antony were in the gay, or the serious humour, still she had something ready for his amusement. *She was with him night and day; she gamed, she drank, she hunted, she reviewed with him*. In his night rambles, when he was reconnoitering the doors and windows of the citizens, and throwing out his jests upon them, she attended him in the habit of a servant, which he also on such occasions affected to wear. From these expeditions he frequently returned a sufferer both in person and character. But though some of the Alexandrians were displeased with this whimsical humour, others enjoyed it, and said,

"That Antony presented his comic parts in Alexandria and reserved the tragic for Rome." To mention all his follies, would be too trifling; but his fishing story must not be omitted. *He was a fishing one day with Cleopatra, and had ill success, which, in the presence of his mistress, he looked upon as a disgrace; he, therefore, ordered one of his assistants to dive and put on his hook such as had been taken before. This schema he put in practice three or four times, and Cleopatra perceived it. She affected, however, to be surprised at his success; expressed her wonder to the people about her; and, the day following, invited them to see fresh proofs of it. When the day following came, the vessel was crowded with people; and as soon as Antony had let down his line, she ordered one of her divers immediately to put a salt fish on his hook. When Antony found he had caught his fish, he drew up his line; and this, as may be supposed, occasioned no small mirth amongst the spectators. "Go, general!" said Cleopatra, "leave fishing to the petty princes of Pharus and Canopus; your game is cities, kingdoms, and provinces."*¹

In the midst of these scenes of festivity and dissipation, Antony received two unfavourable messages; one from Rome, that his wife Fulvia, and his brother Lucius, after long dissensions between themselves, had joined to oppose Cæsar, but were overpowered, and obliged to fly out of Italy. The other informed him, that Labienus and the Parthians had reduced Asia from Syria and the Euphrates to Lydia and Ionia. It was with difficulty that even this roused him from his lethargy: but waking at length, and literally waking from a fit of intoxication, he set out against the Parthians, and proceeded as far as Phœnicia. However, upon the receipt of some very moving letters from Fulvia, he turned his course towards Italy with 200 ships. Such of his friends as had fled from thence, he received; and from these he learned, that Fulvia had been the principal cause of the disturbances in Rome. Her disposition had a natural tendency to violence and discord; and, on this occasion, it was abetted by jealousy; for she expected that the disorders of Italy would call Antony from the arms of Cleopatra. That unhappy woman died at Sycion, in her progress to meet her husband.

This event opened an opportunity for a reconciliation with Cæsar. For when Antony came to Italy, and Cæsar expressed no resentment against him, but threw the whole blame on Fulvia, their respective friends interfered, and brought them to an accommodation. The east, within the boundaries of the Ionian sea, was given to Antony; the western provinces to Cæsar; and Lepidus had Africa. When they did not accept of the consulship themselves, they were to dispose of it as they thought proper, in their turns.

After these matters were settled, they thought of means to

¹ This expression of Cleopatra's has something of the same turn with that passage in Virgil—

Exoritur alii aspirantia mollis æra!
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane,
memento.

secure this union which fortune had set on foot. Cæsar had a sister older than himself named Octavia, but they had different mothers. The mother of Octavia was Ancaria. Cæsar's mother was Attia. He had a great affection for this sister ; for she was a woman of extraordinary merit. She had been already married to Caius Marcellus ; but a little before this had buried her husband ; and as Antony had lost his wife, there was an opening for a fresh union. His connection with Cleopatra he did not affect to deny ; but he absolutely denied that he was married to her : and, in this circumstance, indeed, his prudence prevailed over his love. His marriage with Octavia was universally wished. It was the general hope, that a woman of her beauty and distinguished virtues would acquire such an influence over Antony, as might, in the end, be salutary to the state. Conditions being mutually agreed upon, they proceeded to solemnise the nuptials at Rome : and *the law which permits no widow to marry till the expiration of ten months after the decease of her husband* was dispensed with by the senate.

Sextus, the son of Pompey, who was then in possession of Sicily, had not only made great ravages in Italy, but had covered the sea with such a number of piratical vessels, under the command of Menas and Menecrates, that it was no longer safe for other ships to pass. He had been favourable, notwithstanding, to Antony ; for he had given a kind reception to his mother and his wife Fulvia, when they were obliged to fly from Rome. It was judged proper, therefore, to accommodate matters with him ; and, for this purpose, a meeting was held at the promontory of Misenum by the mole that runs into the sea. Pompey was attended by his fleet ; Antony and Cæsar by an army of foot. At this interview it was settled, that Pompey should keep Sicily and Sardinia, on condition that he should clear the sea of pirates, and send a certain quantity of corn to Rome. When these things were determined, they mutually invited each other to supper ; but it fell to the lot of Pompey to give the first entertainment. When Antony asked him where they should sup : "There," said he, pointing to the admiral-galley of six oars, "that is the only patrimonial mansion-house that is left to Pompey : " and it implied at the same time, a sarcasm on Antony, who was then in possession of his father's house. However, he entertained them very politely, after conducting them over a bridge from the promontory to the ship that rode at anchor. During the entertainment, while the raillery ran briskly on Antony and Cleopatra, Menas came to Pompey, and told him secretly, that, if he would permit him to cut the cable, he would not only make him master of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman Empire. Pompey, after a moment's deliberation, answered, that he should have done it without consulting him. "We must now let it alone," said he, "for I cannot break my oath of treaty." The compliment of the entertainment was returned by his guests, and he then retired to Sicily.

Antony, after the accommodation, sent Ventidius into Asia, to stop the progress of the Parthians. All matters of public

administration were conducted with the greatest harmony between him and Octavius ; and, in compliment to the latter, he took upon himself the office of high priest to Cæsar the dictator. But, alas ! in their contests at play, Cæsar was generally superior, and Antony was mortified. He had in his house a fortune-telling gipsy, who was skilled in the calculation of nativities. This man, either to oblige Cleopatra, or following the investigation of truth, told Antony, that the star of his fortune, however glorious in itself, was eclipsed and obscured by Cæsar's, and advised him, by all means, to keep at the greatest distance from that young man. "The genius of your life," said he, "is afraid of his ; when it is alone, its port is erect and fearless ; when his approaches, it is dejected and depressed." Indeed, there were many circumstances that seemed to justify the conjuror's doctrine : for in every kind of play, whether they cast lots, or cast the die, Antony was still the loser. *In their cock-fights and quail-fights, it was still Cæsar's cock and Cæsar's quail.* These things co-operating with the conjuror's observations, had such an effect on Antony that he gave up the management of his domestic affairs to Cæsar, and left Italy. Octavia, who had by this time brought him a daughter, he took with him into Greece. He wintered in Athens, and there he learned that his affairs in Asia, under Ventidius, were successful ; that the Parthians were routed, and that Labienus and Pharnapates, the ablest generals of Orodes, fell in the battle. In honour of this victory he gave an entertainment to the Greeks, and treated the Athenians with an exhibition of the gymnastic games, in which he took the master's part himself. The robes and ensigns of the general were laid aside ; the rods, the cloak, and the slippers of the Gymnasiarch were assumed ; and when the combatants had fought sufficiently, he parted them himself.

When he went to the war, he took with him a crown of the sacred olive ; and by the direction of some oracle or other, a vessel of water filled out of the Clepsydra.¹ In the meantime, Pacoras, son of the king of Parthia, made an incursion into Syria, but was routed by Ventidius in Cyrrhestica, and with the greatest part of his army, fell in the battle. This celebrated victory made ample amends for the defeat of Crassus. The Parthians had now been thrice conquered, and were confined within the bounds of Media and Mesopotamia. Ventidius would not pursue the Parthians any farther, for fear of exciting the envy of Antony ; he, therefore, turned his arms against the revolters, and brought them back to their duty. Amongst these was Antiochus, the king of Commagene, whom he besieged in the city of Samosata. That prince at first offered to pay 1,000 talents, and to submit himself to the Roman empire ; upon which Ventidius told him, that he must send proposals to Antony ; for he was then at no great distance ; and he had not commissioned Ventidius to make

¹ The Clepsydra was a fountain belonging to the citadel at Athens ; so called,

because it was sometimes full of water, and sometimes empty.

peace with Antiochus, that something at least might be done by himself. But while the siege was thus prolonged and the people of Samosata despaired of obtaining terms, that despair produced a degree of courage which defeated every effort of the besiegers; and Antony was at last reduced to the disgraceful necessity of accepting 300 talents.

After he had done some little towards settling the affairs of Syria, he returned to Athens, and sent Ventidius to Rome, to enjoy the reward of his merit in a triumph. He was the only general that ever triumphed over the Parthians. His birth was obscure, but his connections with Antony brought him into great appointments: and, by making the best use of them, he confirmed what was said of Antony and Octavius Cæsar, that they were more successful by their lieutenants, than when they commanded in person. This observation, with regard to Antony in particular, might be justified by the success of Sossius and Canidius. The former had done great things in Syria, and the latter, whom he left in Armenia, reduced the whole country; and, after defeating the kings of Iberia and Albania, penetrated as far as Mount Caucasus, and spread the terror of Antony's name and power through those barbarous nations.

Soon after this, upon hearing some disagreeable reports concerning the designs or the conduct of Cæsar, he sailed for Italy with a fleet of 300 ships; and, being refused the harbour of Brundisium, he made for Tarentum. There he was prevailed on by his wife Octavia, who accompanied him, and was then pregnant a third time, to send her to her brother; and she was fortunate enough to meet him on her journey, attended by his two friends, Marcenas and Agrippa. In conference with him, she entreated him to consider the peculiarity of her situation, and not to make the happiest woman in the world the most unfortunate. "The eyes of all," said she, "are necessarily turned on me, who am the wife of Antony, and the sister of Cæsar; and should these chiefs of the empire, misled by hasty counsels, involve the whole in war, whatever may be the event, it will be unhappy for me." Cæsar was softened by the entreaties of his sister, and proceeded with peaceable views to Tarentum. His arrival afforded a general satisfaction to the people. They were pleased to see such an army on the shore, and such a fleet in the harbour, in the mutual disposition for peace; and nothing but compliments and expressions of kindness passing between the generals. Antony first invited Cæsar to sup with him, and in compliment to Octavia, he accepted the invitation. At length it was agreed, that Cæsar should give up to Antony two legions for the Parthian service; and that Antony, in return, should leave 100 armed galleys with Cæsar. Octavia, moreover, engaged Antony to give up 20 light ships to Cæsar, and procured from her brother 1,000 foot for her husband. Matters being thus accommodated, Cæsar went to war with Pompey for the recovery of Sicily; and Antony, leaving under his protection his wife and his children, both by the present and the former marriage, sailed for Asia.

Upon his approach to Syria, the love of Cleopatra, which had so long been dormant in his heart, and which better counsels seemed totally to have suppressed, revived again, and took possession of his soul. The unruly steed, to which Plato¹ compares certain passions, once more broke loose, and in spite of honour, interest, and prudence, Antony sent Fonteius Capito to conduct Cleopatra into Syria.

Upon her arrival he made her the most magnificent presents. He gave her the provinces of Phœnicia, Cœlosyria, Cyprus, great part of Cilicia, *that district of Judæa which produces the balm*, and that part of Arabia Nabathæa which lies upon the ocean. These extravagant gifts were disagreeable to the Romans; for, though he had often conferred on private persons considerable governments and kingdoms; though he had deprived many princes of their dominions, and *beheaded Antigonus of Judæa, the first king that ever suffered in such a manner*; ² yet nothing so much disturbed the Romans as his enormous profusion in favour of that woman. Nor were they less offended at his giving the surnames of the sun and moon to the twins he had by her.

But Antony knew well how to give a fair appearance to the most disreputable actions. The greatness of the Roman empire, he said, appeared more in giving than in receiving kingdoms; and that it was proper for persons of high birth and station to extend and secure their nobility, by leaving children and successors born of different princes; that his ancestor Hercules trusted not to the fertility of one woman, as if he had feared the penalties annexed to the law of Solon; but, by various connections with the sex, became the founder of many families.

After Orodes was slain by his son Phraates³ who took possession of the kingdom, many of the Parthian chiefs fled to Antony; and amongst the rest, Monesus, a man of great dignity and power. Antony thinking that Monesus, in his fortune, resembled Themistocles, and comparing his own wealth and magnificence to that of the kings of Persia, gave him three cities, Larissa, Archusa, and Hierampolis, which was before called Bombyce. But when Phraates sent Monesus assurances of his safety, he readily dismissed him. On this occasion he formed a scheme to deceive Phraates: he pretended a disposition for peace, and required only that the Roman standards and ensigns which had been taken at the defeat of Crassus, and such of the prisoners as still survived, might be restored. He sent Cleopatra into Egypt; after which he marched through Arabia and Armenia, where, as soon as his own troops were joined by the allies, he reviewed his army. He had

¹ Plutarch here alludes to that passage in Plato, where he compares the soul to a winged chariot, with two horses and a charioteer. One of these horses is mischievous and unruly: the other gentle and tractable. The charioteer is Reason: the unruly horse denotes the concupis-

cent, and the tractable horse the irascible part. PLATO, *Phæd.*

² Dion tells us that Antigonus was first tied to a stake and whipped; and that afterwards his throat was cut.

³ The same Phraates that Horace mentions, *Redditi'um Cyri solio Phraatem* Lib. II. ode. 2.

several princes in alliance with him, but Artavasdes, king of Armenia, was the most powerful ; for he furnished 6,000 horse, and 7,000 foot. At this review there appeared 60,000 Roman foot, and 10,000 horse, who, though chiefly Gauls and Spaniards, were reckoned as Romans. The number of the allies, including the light armed and the cavalry, amounted to 30,000.

This formidable armament, which struck terror into the Indians beyond Bactria, and alarmed all Asia, his attachment to Cleopatra rendered perfectly useless. His impatience to return and spend the winter in her arms, made him take the field too early in the season, and precipitated all his measures. As a man who is under the power of enchantment, can only act as the impulse of the magic directs him, *his eye was continually drawn to Cleopatra, and to return to her was a greater object than to conquer the world.* He ought certainly to have wintered in Armenia, that he might give a proper respite and refreshment to his men, after a march of 1,000 miles. In the early part of the spring, he should have made himself master of Media, before the Parthian troops were drawn out of garrison ; but his impatience put him upon the march, and leaving Armenia on the left, he passed through the province of Atropatene, and laid waste the country. In his haste, he left behind him the battering engines, amongst which was a ram 80 feet long, and these followed the camp on 300 carriages ; had any damage happened to these, it would have been impossible to repair them in this upper part of Asia, where there is no timber of height or strength sufficient for the purpose. However, they were brought after him under the conduct of Stadianus ; and in the mean time, he laid siege to the large city of Phraata, the residence of the king of Media's wives and children. Here he perceived his error in leaving the engines behind ; for want of which he was obliged to throw up a mound against the wall, and that required considerable time and labour.

In the mean time, Phraates came up with a numerous army, and being informed that Antony had left behind him his machines, he sent a large detachment to intercept them. This party fell upon Stadianus, who, with 10,000 of his men, was slain upon the spot. Many were taken prisoners, among whom was king Polemo ; and the machines were seized by the enemy and destroyed.

This miscarriage greatly discouraged the army ; and Artavasdes, though he had been the promoter of the war, withdrew his forces in despair. The Parthians, on the other hand, encouraged by their success, came up with the Romans while they were employed in the siege, and treated them with the most insolent menaces and contempt. Antony, who knew that despair and timidity would be the consequence of inaction, led out ten legions, three prætorian cohorts heavy armed, and the whole body of cavalry, on the business of foraging. He was persuaded, at the same time, that this was the only method of drawing the enemy after him, and bringing them to a battle. After one day's progress, he observed the enemy in motion, and watched an opportunity to fall upon him

in his march. Hereupon he put up in his camp the signal for battle ; but, at the same time, struck his tents, as if his intention was not to fight but to retire. Accordingly he passed the army of the barbarians, which was drawn up in form of a crescent : but he had previously given orders to the horse to charge the enemy, full speed, as soon as their ranks were within reach of the legionary troops. The Parthians were struck with astonishment at the order of the Roman army, when they observed them pass at regular intervals without confusion, and brandish their pikes in silence.

When the signal was given for battle, the horse turned short, and fell with loud shouts on the enemy. The Parthians received the attack with firmness, though they were too close in with them for the use of their bows. But when the infantry came to the charge, their shouts, and the clashing of their arms, so frightened the enemy's horses, that they were no longer manageable ; and the Parthians fled without once engaging. Antony pursued them closely, in hopes that this action would, in a great measure, terminate the war. But when the infantry had followed them 50 furlongs, and the cavalry at least 150, he found that he had not slain above 80 of the enemy, and that 30 only were taken prisoners. Thus, the little advantage of their victories, and the heavy loss of their defeats, as in the recent instance of the carriages, was a fresh discouragement to the Romans.

The day following they returned with their baggage to the camp before Phraata. In their march they met with some straggling troops of the enemy, afterwards with greater parties, and at last with the whole body, which, having easily rallied, appeared like a fresh army, and harassed them in such a manner, that it was with difficulty they reached their camp.

The Median garrison, in the absence of Antony, had made a sally ; and those who were left to defend the mount, had quitted their post, and fled. Antony, at his return, punished the fugitives by decimation. That is, he divided them into tens ; and, in each division, put one to death, on whom the lot happened to fall. Those that escaped had their allowance in barley instead of wheat.

Both parties now found their difficulties in the war. Antony had the dread of famine before him, for he could not forage without a terrible slaughter of his men ; and Phraates, who knew the temper of the Parthians, was apprehensive, that, if the Romans persisted in carrying on the siege, as soon as the autumnal equinox was passed, and the winter set in, he should be deserted by his army, which would not at that time endure the open field. To prevent this, he had recourse to stratagem. He ordered his officers not to pursue the Romans too close when they were foraging, but to permit them to carry off provisions. He commanded them, at the same time, to compliment them on their valour : and to express his high opinion of the Roman bravery. They were instructed, likewise, as opportunity might offer, to blame the obstinacy of Antony, which exposed many brave men to the severities of famine and a winter campaign, who must suffer of course, notwithstanding all the

Parthians could do for them, while Phraates sought for nothing more than peace, though he was still defeated in his benevolent intentions.

Antony, on these reports, began to conceive hopes ; but he would not offer any terms before he was satisfied whether they came originally from the king. The enemy assured him that such were the sentiments of Phraates ; and, being induced to believe them, he sent some of his friends to demand the standards and the prisoners that came into their hands on the defeat of Crassus : for he thought, if he demanded nothing, it might appear that he was pleased with the privilege of retreating. The Parthian answered, that the standards and prisoners could not be restored ; but that Antony, if he thought proper, was at liberty to retreat in safety.

After some few days had been spent in making up the baggage, he began his march. On this occasion, though he had the happiest eloquence in addressing his soldiers, and reconciling them to every situation and event ; yet, whether it was through shame, or sorrow, or both, he left that office to Domitius Ænobarbus. Some of them were offended at this as an act of contempt ; but the greater part understood the cause, and pitying their general paid him still greater attention.

Antony had determined to take his route through a plain and open country ; but a certain Mardian, who was well acquainted with the practices of the Parthians, and had approved his faith to the Romans at the battle when the machines were lost, advised him to take the mountains on his right, and not to expose his heavy-armed troops in an open country to the attacks of the Parthian bowmen and cavalry. Phraates, he said, amused him with fair promises, merely to draw him off from the siege ; but if he would take him for his guide, he would conduct him by a way that was nearer, and better furnished with necessaries. Antony deliberated some time upon this. He would not appear to doubt the honour of the Parthians after the truce they had agreed to : and yet, he could not but approve of a way which was nearer, and which lay through an inhabited country. At last, he required the necessary pledges of the Mardian's faith, which he gave in suffering himself to be bound till he should have conducted the army into Armenia. In this condition he led the Romans peaceably along for two days : but on the third, when Antony, expecting nothing less than the Parthians, was marching forward in disorderly security, the Mardian, observing the mounds of a river broken down, and the waters let out into the plain where they were to pass, concluded that the Parthians had done this to retard their march, and advised Antony to be on his guard ; for the enemy, he said, was at no great distance. Whilst Antony was drawing up his men, and preparing such of them as were armed with darts and slings to make a sally against the enemy, the Parthians came upon him, and by surrounding his army, harassed it on every part. The light-armed Romans, indeed, made an incursion upon them, and, galling them with their missive weapons, obliged them to retreat ; but they soon returned

to the charge, till a band of the Gaulish cavalry attacked and dispersed them ; so that they appeared no more that day.

Antony, upon this, found what measures he was to take ; and covering both wings and the rear with such troops as were armed with missive weapons, his army marched in the form of a square. The cavalry had orders to repel the attacks of the enemy, but not to pursue them to any great distance. The Parthians, of course, when in four successive days they could make no considerable impression, and found themselves equally annoyed in their turn, grew more remiss, and, finding an excuse in the winter season, began to think of a retreat. On the fifth day, Flavius Gallus, a general officer of great courage and valour, requested Antony, that he would indulge him with a number of light-armed troops from the rear, together with a few horse from the front ; and with these he proposed to perform some considerable exploit. These he obtained, and, in repelling the attacks of the Parthians, he did not, like the rest, retreat by degrees towards the body of the army, but maintained his ground and fought rather on the offensive than on the defensive. When the officers of the rear observed that he was separated from the rest, they sent to recall him, but he did not obey the summons. It is said, however, that Titius the quaestor turned back the standard, and inveighed against Gallus for leading so many brave men to destruction. Gallus, on the other hand, returned his reproaches, and commanding those who were about him to stand, he made his retreat alone. Gallus had no sooner made an impression on the enemy's front than he was surrounded. In this distress he sent for assistance : and here the general officers, and Canidius, the favourite of Antony, amongst the rest, committed a most capital error. Instead of leading the whole army against the Parthians, as soon as one detachment was overpowered, they sent another to its support ; and thus, by degrees, they would have sacrificed great part of the troops, had not Antony come hastily from the front with the heavy-armed, and urging on the third legion through the midst of the fugitives, stopped the enemy's pursuit.

In this action no fewer than 3,000 were slain, and 5,000 brought back wounded to the camp. Amongst the last was Gallus, who had four arrows shot through his body, and soon after died of his wounds. Antony visited all that had suffered on this unhappy occasion, and consoled them with tears of real grief and affection : while the wounded soldiers, embracing the hand of their general, entreated him not to attend to their sufferings, but to his own health and quiet : "*While our general is safe, all," said they, "is well."* It is certain that there was not in those days a braver or a finer army. The men were tall, stout, able, and willing to endure the greatest toils. Their respect and ready obedience to their general was wonderful. *Not a man in the army, from the first officer to the meanest soldier, but would have preferred the favour of Antony to his own life and safety.* In all these respects they were at least equal to the armies of ancient Rome. A variety of

causes concurred to produce this. Antony's noble birth, his eloquence, his candour, his liberality and magnificence, and the familiar pleasantries of his conversation. These were the general cause of the affection he found in his army ; and, on this particular occasion, his sympathising with the wounded, and attending to their wants, made them totally forget their sufferings.

The Parthians, who had before begun to languish in their operations, were so much elevated with this advantage, and held the Romans in such contempt, that they even spent the night by their camp, in hopes of seizing the baggage while they deserted their tents. At break of day numbers more came up, to the amount, as it is said, of 40,000 horse : for the Parthian king had sent even his body-guard, so confident was he of absolute victory ; as to himself, he never was present at any engagement.

Antony being now to address his soldiers, called for mourning apparel, that his speech might be more affecting ; but as his friends would not permit this, he appeared in his general's robe. Those that had been victorious he praised, those who had fled he reproached ; the former encouraged him by every testimony of their zeal ; the latter, offering themselves either to decimation or any other kind of punishment that he might think proper to inflict upon them, entreated him to forego his sorrow and concern. Upon this he raised his hands to heaven, and prayed to the gods, "That if his happier fortune was to be followed by future evil, it might affect only himself, and that his army might be safe and victorious."

The day following they marched out in better order, and the Parthians, who thought they had nothing to do but to plunder, when they saw their enemy in fresh spirits and in a capacity for renewing the engagement, were extremely disconcerted. However, they fell upon the Romans from the adjacent declivities and galled them with their arrows as they were marching slowly forward. Against these attacks the light-armed troops were covered by the legionaries, who placing one knee upon the ground, received the arrows on their shields. The rank that was behind covered that which was before in a regular gradation ; so that this curious fortification, which defended them from the arrows of the enemy, resembled the roof of a house.

The Parthians, who thought that the Romans rested on their knees only through weariness and fatigue, threw away their bows, and came to close engagement with their spears. Upon this the Romans leaped up with a loud shout, cut to pieces those who came first to the attack, and put all the rest to flight. This method of attack and defence being repeated every day, they made but little progress in their march, and were, besides, distressed for want of provisions ; they could not forage without fighting ; the corn they could get was but little, and even that they had not instruments to grind. The greatest part of them had been left behind ; for many of their beasts of burden were dead, and many were employed in carrying the sick and wounded. It is said that a bushel of wheat, Attic measure, was sold for 50 drachmas, and a *barley loaf* for its weight

in silver. Those who sought for roots and pot herbs found few that they had been accustomed to eat, and in tasting unknown herbs, they met with one that brought on madness and death. He that had eaten of it immediately lost all memory and knowledge; but, at the same time, would busy himself in turning and moving every stone he met with, as if he was upon some very important pursuit. The camp was full of unhappy men bending to the ground, and thus digging up and removing stones, till at last they were carried off by a bilious vomiting; when wine,¹ the only remedy,² was not to be had. Thus, while numbers perished, and the Parthians still continued to harass them, Antony is said frequently to have cried out, "O the ten thousand!" alluding to the army that Xenophon led from Babylon, both a longer way,³ and through more numerous conflicts, and yet led in safety.

The Parthians, when they found that they could not break through the Roman ranks, nor throw them into disorder, but were frequently beaten in their attacks, began once more to treat their foragers in a peaceable manner. They showed them their bows unstrung, and informed them that they had given up the pursuit, and were going to depart. A few Medes, they said, might continue the route a day or two longer, but they would give the Romans no trouble, as their only purpose was to protect some of the remoter villages. These professions were accompanied with many kind salutations; insomuch that the Romans conceived fresh hopes and spirits; and, because the way over the mountains was said to be destitute of water, Antony once more was desirous of taking his route through the plains. When he was going to put this scheme in execution, one Mithridates, cousin to that Monesus who had formerly sought his protection, and being presented by him with three cities, came from the enemy's camp, and desired he might be permitted to speak with some person that understood the Syrian or the Parthian language. Alexander of Antioch, a friend of Antony's, went out to him, and after the Parthian had informed him who he was, and attributing his coming to the kindness of Monesus, he asked him, whether he did not see at a great distance before him a range of high hills. "Under those hills," said he, "the whole Parthian army lies in ambuscade for you: for at the foot of the mountains there is a spacious plain, and there, when, deluded by their artifices, you have left the way over the heights, they expect to find you. In the mountain roads, indeed, you have thirst and toil to contend with as usual; but, should Antony take the plains, he must expect the fate of Crassus."

After he had given this information he departed, and Antony on the occasion assembled a council, and amongst the rest his Mardian

¹ The ancients held wine to be a principal remedy against vomiting. *Proterea vomitiones suffit.*—Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xiii. c. 1.

² It was likely esteemed good against many kinds of poison. *Mierum, est*

contra cicutum, alonilla et omnia quæ refrigerant remedium. Ibid.

³ When Plutarch says that Xenophon led his 10,000 a longer way, he must mean to terminate Antony's march in Armenia.

guide, who concurred with the directions of the Parthian. The way over the plains, he said, was hardly practicable, were there no enemy to contend with, the windings were long and tedious, and difficult to be made out. The rugged way over the mountains, on the contrary, had no other difficulty in it than to endure thirst for one day. Antony, therefore, changed his mind, and ordering each man to take water along with him, took the mountain road by night. As there was not a sufficient number of vessels, some conveyed their water in helmets, and others in bladders.

The Parthians were informed of Antony's motions, and, contrary to custom, pursued him in the night. About sunrise they came up with the rear, weary as it was with toil and watching; for that night they had travelled 30 miles. In this condition they had to contend with an unexpected enemy, and being at once obliged to fight and continue their march, their thirst became still more insupportable. At last the front came up to a river, the water of which was cool and clear, but being salt and acrimonious, it occasioned a pain in the stomach and bowels that had been heated and inflamed with thirst. The Mardian guide had, indeed, forewarned them of this, but the poor fellows rejecting the information that was brought them, drank eagerly of the stream. Antony, running amongst the ranks, entreated them to forbear but a little. He told them that there was another river at no great distance, the water of which might be drank with safety; and that the way was so extremely rocky and uneven, that it was impossible for the enemy's cavalry to pursue. At the same time he sounded a retreat to call off such as were engaged with the enemy, and gave the signal for pitching their tents, that they might at least have the convenience of shade.

While their tents were fixing, and the Parthians, as usual, retiring from the pursuit, Mithridates came again, and Alexander being sent out to him, he advised that the Romans, after a little rest, should rise and make for the river, because the Parthians did not propose to carry their pursuit beyond it. Alexander reported this to Antony, and Mithridates being presented with as many phials and cups of gold as he could conceal in his garments, once more left the camp. Antony, while it was yet day, struck his tents, and marched, unmolested by the enemy. *But so dreadful a night as followed he had never passed.* Those who were known to be possessed of gold or silver were slain and plundered, and the money that was conveyed in the baggage was made a prey of. Last of all, Antony's baggage was seized, and the richest bowls and tables were cut asunder and divided amongst the plunderers. The greatest terror and distraction ran through the whole army, for it was concluded that the inroads of the enemy had occasioned this flight and confusion. Antony sent for one of his freedmen called Rhamnus, and made him swear that he would stab him and cut off his head, whenever he should command him, that he might neither fall alive into the hands of the enemy, nor be known when dead. While his friends were weeping around him, the Mardian guide gave him

some encouragement, by telling him that the river was at hand, as he could perceive by the cool freshness of the air that issued from it, and that, of course, the troubles of his journey would soon be at an end, as the night nearly was. At the same time he was informed that all these disorders had been occasioned by the avarice of the soldiers, and he therefore ordered the signal for encamping, that he might rectify his disordered army.¹

It was now daylight, and as soon as the troops were brought to a little order, the Parthians once more began to harass the rear. The signal was therefore given to the light troops to engage, and the heavy armed received the arrows under a roof of shields as before. The Parthians, however, durst not come any more to close engagement, and when the front had advanced a little farther, the river was in sight. Antony first drew up the cavalry on the bank to carry over the weak and wounded. The combat was now over, and the thirsty could enjoy their water in quiet. At sight of the river the Parthians unstrung their bows, and, with the highest encomiums on their bravery, bade their enemies pass over in peace. They did so, and after the necessary refreshments, proceeded on their march, without much confidence in the Parthian praise or professions. Within six days from the last battle they arrived at the river Araxes, which divides Media from Armenia. This river, on account of the depth and strength of its current, seemed difficult to pass, and a rumour, moreover, ran through the army that the enemy was there in ambuscade, to attack them as they forded it. *However they passed over in safety, and when they set foot in Armenia, with the avidity of mariners when they first come on shore, they kissed the ground in adoration, and embraced each other with a pleasure that could only express itself in tears.* The ill consequences of their former extremities, however, discovered themselves even here; for as they now passed through a country of plenty and profusion, their too great indulgences threw them into the dropsy and the colic. Antony, on reviewing his army, found that he had lost 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse, more than half of which had not died in battle, but by sickness. They had been 27 days in their return from Phraatæ, and had beaten the Parthians in 18 engagements: but these victories were by no means complete, because they could not prosecute their advantages by pursuit.

Hence it is evident that Artavasdes deprived Antony of the fruits of his Parthian expedition; for had he been assisted by the 16,000 horse which he took with him out of Media, who were armed like the Parthians, and accustomed to fight with them, after the Romans

¹ Plutarch does not in this place appear to be sufficiently informed. The cause of this tumult in the army could not be the avarice of the soldiers only, since that might have operated long before, and at a time when they were capable of enjoying money. Their object now was the preservation of life; and it was not wealth but water that they

wanted. We must look for the cause of this disorder then in some other circumstance; and that probably was the report of their general's despair, or possibly of his death; for otherwise, they would hardly have plundered his baggage. The fidelity and affection they had shown him in all their distresses, afford a sufficient argument on this behalf.

had beaten them in set battles, this cavalry might have taken up the pursuit, and harassed them in such a manner, that they could not so often have rallied and returned to the charge. All, therefore, were exciting Antony to revenge himself on Artavasdes. But he followed better counsels, and in his present weak and indigent condition, he did not think proper to withhold the usual respect and honours he had paid him. But when he came into Armenia on another occasion, after having drawn him to a meeting by fair promises and invitations, he seized and carried him bound to Alexandria, where he led him in triumphal procession. The Romans were offended at this triumph and at Antony, who had thus transferred the principal honours of their country to Egypt, for the gratification of Cleopatra. These things, however, happened in a later period of Antony's life.

The severity of the winter and perpetual snows were so destructive to the troops, that in his march he lost 8,000 men. Accompanied by a small party he went down to the sea-coast, and in a fort between Berytus and Sidon, called the *White Hair*, he waited for Cleopatra. To divert his impatience on her delay, he had recourse to festivity and intoxication; and he would frequently, over his cups, start up from his seat, and run leaping and dancing to look out for her approach. At length she came, and brought with her a large quantity of money and clothing for the army. Some, however, have asserted, that she brought nothing but the clothes, and that Antony supplied the money, though he gave her the credit of it.

There happened at this time a quarrel between Phraates and the king of the Medes, occasioned, as it is said, by the division of the Roman spoils, and the latter was apprehensive of losing his kingdom. He therefore sent to Antony an offer of his assistance against the Parthians. Antony, who concluded that he had failed of conquering the Parthians only through want of cavalry and bowmen, and would here seem rather to confer than to receive a favour, determined once more to return to Armenia, and, after joining the king of the Medes at the river Araxes, to renew the war.

Octavia, who was still at Rome, now expressed a desire of visiting Antony, and Cæsar gave her his permission, not according to the general opinion, merely to oblige her, but that the ill treatment and neglect which he concluded she should meet with might give her a pretence for renewing the war. When she arrived at Athens she received letters from Antony, commanding her to continue there, and acquainting her with his new expedition. These letters mortified her, for she suspected the expedition to be nothing more than a pretence; however, she wrote to him, and desired he would send his commands where she should leave the presents she had brought. These presents consisted of clothing for the army, beasts of burden, money, and gifts for his officers and friends. Besides these, she had brought 2,000 picked men, fully equipped and armed for the general's cohort. Octavia sent this letter by Niger, a

friend of Antony's, who did not fail to pay her the compliments she deserved, but represented her to Antony in the most agreeable light.

Cleopatra dreaded her rival. She was apprehensive that if she came to Antony, the respectable gravity of her manners, added to the authority and interest of Cæsar, would carry off her husband. She therefore pretended to be dying for the love of Antony, and to give a colour to her pretence, she emaciated herself by abstinence. At his approach she taught her eye to express an agreeable surprise, and when he left her, she put on the look of languishment and dejection. Sometimes she would endeavour to weep, and then, as if she wished to hide the tears from her tender Antony, she affected to wipe them off unseen.

Antony was, all this while, preparing for his Median expedition, and Cleopatra's creatures and dependants did not fail to reproach his unfeeling heart, which could suffer the woman whose life was wrapped up in his to die for his sake. Octavia's marriage, they said, was a mere political convenience, and it was enough for her that she had the honour of being called his wife. Poor Cleopatra, though queen of a mighty nation, was called nothing more than his mistress: yet even with this, for the sake of his society, she could be content: but of that society, whenever she should be deprived, it would deprive her of life. These insinuations so totally unmanned him, that, through fear of Cleopatra's putting an end to her life, he returned to Egypt, and put off the Mede till summer, though at that time the Parthian affairs were said to be in a seditious and disorderly situation. At length, however, he went into Armenia, and after entering into an alliance with the Mede, and betrothing one of Cleopatra's sons to a daughter of his who was very young, returned, that he might attend to the civil war.

When Octavia returned from Athens, Cæsar looked upon the treatment she had met with as a mark of the greatest contempt, and he therefore ordered her to retire and live alone. However, she refused to quit her husband's house, and moreover entreated Cæsar by no means to have recourse to arms merely on her account. It would be infamous, she said, for the two chiefs of the Roman empire to involve the people in a civil war, one for the love of a woman, and the other out of jealousy. By her own conduct, she added weight to her expostulations. She kept up the dignity of Antony's house, and took the same care of his children, as well those that he had by Fulvia as her own, that she could possibly have taken, had he been present. Antony's friends, who were sent to Rome to solicit honours or transact business, she kindly entertained, and used her best offices with Cæsar to obtain what they requested. Yet even by his conduct she was hurting Antony, contrary to her inclination. His injurious treatment of such a woman excited a general indignation; and the distribution he had made to his children in Alexandria, carried with it something so imperious and so disparaging to the Romans, that it increased that indignation not a little. The manner of doing it was extremely obnoxious.

He summoned the people to the place of public exercise, and ordering two golden chairs to be placed on a tribunal of silver, one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, beside lower seats for the children, he announced her queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Cœlosyria, and nominated Cæsario, her son by Cæsar the dictator, her colleague. The sons she had by him he entitled kings of kings, and to Alexander he gave Armenia, and Media, together with Parthia, when it should be conquered. To Ptolemy he gave Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia. At the same time the children made their appearance, Alexander in a Median dress, with the turban and tiara; and Ptolemy in the long cloak and slippers, with a bonnet encircled by a diadem. The latter was dressed like the successors of Alexander; the former like the Median and Armenian kings. When the children saluted their parents, one was attended by Armenian, the other by Macedonian guards. Cleopatra, on this and on other public occasions, wore the sacred robe of Isis,¹ and affected to give audience to the people in the character and name of the *New Isis*.

Cæsar expatiated on these things in the senate, and by frequent accusations, incensed the people against Antony. Antony did not fail to recriminate by his deputies. In the first place he charged Cæsar with wresting Sicily out of the hands of Pompey, and not dividing it with him. His next charge was, that Cæsar had never returned the ships he had borrowed of him; a third, that after reducing his colleague Lepidus to the condition of a private man, he had taken to himself his army, his province, and his tributes; lastly, that he had distributed almost all the lands in Italy among his own soldiers, and had left nothing for his. To these Cæsar made answer, that Lepidus was reduced from an incapacity of sustaining his government; that what he had acquired by war he was ready to divide with Antony, and at the same time he expected to share Armenia with him; that his soldiers had no right to lands in Italy, because Media and Armenia, which by their bravery they had added to the Roman empire, had been allotted to them.

Antony being informed of these things in Armenia, immediately sent Canidius to the sea-coast with sixteen legions. In the meantime he went to Ephesus attended by Cleopatra. There he assembled his fleet, which consisted of 800 ships of burden, whereof Cleopatra furnished 200, beside 20,000 talents, and provisions for the whole army. Antony, by the advice of Domitius and some other friends, ordered Cleopatra to return to Egypt, and there to wait the event of the war. But the queen, apprehensive that a reconciliation might take place, through the mediation of Octavia, by means of large bribes drew over Canidius to her interest. She prevailed on him to represent to Antony, that it was unreasonable to refuse so powerful an auxiliary the privilege of being present at the war; that her presence was even necessary to animate and

¹ This robe was of all colours, to signify the universality of the goddess' influence. The robe of Osiris was of one colour only.

encourage the Egyptians, who made so considerable a part of his naval force ; nor was Cleopatra, in point of abilities, inferior to any of the princes his allies ; since she had not only been a long time at the head of a considerable kingdom, but by her intercourse with him had learned the administration of the greatest affairs. These remonstrances, as the Fates had decreed everything for Cæsar, had the desired effect, and they sailed together for Samos, where they indulged in every species of luxury. For at the same time that the kings, governors, states, and provinces, between Syria, the Mæotis, Armenia and Lauria,¹ were commanded to send their contributions to the war, the whole tribe of players and musicians were ordered to repair to Samos ; *and while almost the whole world beside was venting its anguish in groans and tears, that island alone was piping and dancing.* The several cities sent oxen for sacrifice, and kings contended in the magnificence of their presents and entertainments ; so that it was natural to say, "What kind of figure will these people make in their triumph, when their very preparations for war are so splendid !"

When these things were over, he gave Priene for the residence of the players and musicians, and sailed for Athens, where he once more renewed the farce of public entertainments. The Athenians had treated Octavia, when she was at Athens, with the highest respect ; and Cleopatra, jealous of the honours she had received, endeavoured to court the people by every mark of favour. The people in return decreed her public honours, and sent a deputation to wait on her with the decree. At the head of this deputation was Antony himself, in character of a citizen of Athens, and he was prolocutor on the occasion.

In the meantime he sent some of his people to turn Octavia out of his house at Rome. When she left it, it is said she took with her all his children (except the eldest by Fulvia, who attended him), and deplored the severity of her fate with tears, under the apprehension that she would be looked upon as one of the causes of the civil war. The Romans pitied her sufferings, but still more the folly of Antony, particularly such as had seen Cleopatra ; for she was by no means preferable to Octavia, either on account of her youth or beauty.

When Cæsar was informed of the celerity and magnificence of Antony's preparations, he was afraid of being forced into the war that summer. This would have been very inconvenient for him, as he was in want of almost everything, and the levies of money occasioned a general dissatisfaction. The whole bo'y of the people were taxed one-fourth of their income, and the sons of freedmen one-eighth. This occasioned the greatest clamour and confusion in Italy, and Antony certainly committed a very great oversight in neglecting the advantage. By his unaccountable

¹ As a mountain of no note in Attica does not seem proper to be mentioned with great kingdoms and provinces it is supposed that we ought to read *Illyria*,

instead of *Loweria*. *Illyria* is afterwards mentioned as the boundary of Antony's dominion on that side.

delays he gave Cæsar an opportunity both to complete his preparations, and appease the minds of the people. *When the money was demanded they murmured and mutinied; but after it was once paid, they thought of it no longer.*

Titius and Plancus, men of consular dignity, and Antony's principal friends, being ill-used by Cleopatra, on account of their opposing her stay in the army, abandoned him and went over to Cæsar. As they knew the contents of Antony's will, they presently made him acquainted with them. This will was lodged in the hands of the vestals; and when Cæsar demanded it, they refused to send it; adding that if he was determined to have it, he must come and take it himself. Accordingly he went and took it. First of all he read it over to himself, and remarked such passages as were most liable to censure. Afterwards he read it in the senate, and this gave a general offence.¹ It seemed to the greatest part an absurd and unprecedented thing that a man should suffer in his life, for what he had ordered to be done after his death. Cæsar dwelt particularly on the orders he had given concerning his funeral; for in case he died at Rome, he had directed his body to be carried in procession through the *forum*, and afterwards conveyed to Alexandria to Cleopatra. Calvisius, a retainer of Cæsar's, also accused him of having given to Cleopatra the *Pergamenian library which consisted of 200,000 volumes*; and added, that once, when they supped in public, Antony rose and trod on Cleopatra's foot by way of signal for some rendezvous. He asserted, moreover, that he suffered the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra sovereign; and that when he was presiding at the administration of public affairs, attended by several tetrarchs and kings, he received love-letters from her enclosed in onyx and crystal, and there perused them. Besides, when Furnius, a man of great dignity, and one of the ablest of the Roman orators, was speaking in public, Cleopatra was carried through the *forum* in a litter; upon which Antony immediately started up, and no longer paying his attention to the cause, accompanied her, leaning on the litter as he walked.

The veracity of Calvisius, in these accusations, was, nevertheless, suspected. The friends of Antony solicited the people in his behalf, and despatched Geminius, one of their number, to put him on his guard against the abrogation of his power and his being declared an enemy to the Roman people. Geminius sailed into Greece, and, on his arrival, was suspected by Cleopatra as an agent of Octavia's. On this account *he was contemptuously treated, and the lowest seats were assigned him at the public suppers.* This, however, he bore for some time with patience, in hopes of obtaining an interview with Antony: but being publicly called upon to declare the cause of his coming, he answered, "That one part of the cause would require to be communicated at a sober hour,

¹ This was an act of most injurious violence. Nothing could be more sacred

than a will deposited in the hands of the vestals.

but the other part could not be mistaken, whether a man were drunk or sober : for it was clear that all things would go well, if Cleopatra retired into Egypt." Antony was extremely chagrined ; and Cleopatra said, " You have done very well, Gemini^{us}, to confess without being put to the torture." Gemini^{us} soon after withdrew, and returned to Rome. Many more of Antony's friends were driven off by the creatures of Cleopatra when they could no longer endure their insolence and scurrility. Amongst the rest were Marcus Silanus, and Delius the historian. The latter informs us, that Cleopatra had a design upon his life, as he was told by Glaucus the physician ; because he had once affronted her at supper, by saying, that while Sarmentus was drinking Falernian at Rome, they were obliged to take up with vinegar. Sarmentus was a boy of Cæsar's, one of those creatures whom the Romans call *Delicie*.

When Cæsar had made his preparations, it was decreed that war should be declared against Cleopatra ; for that Antony could not be said to possess that power which he had already given up to a woman. Cæsar observed, that he was like a man under enchantment, who has no longer any power over himself. It was not he, with whom they were going to war, but Mardion the eunuch, and Pothinus ; Iris, Cleopatra's woman, and Charmion : for these had the principal direction of affairs. Several prodigies are said to have happened previous to this war. Pisaurum, a colony of Antony's on the Adriatic, was swallowed up by an earthquake. Antony's statue in Alba was covered with sweat for many days, which returned, though it was frequently wiped off. While he was at Patræ, the temple of Hercules was set on fire by lightning, and at Athens the statue of Bacchus was carried by a whirlwind from the Gigantomachia into the theatre. These things concerned Antony the more nearly, as he affected to be a descendant of Hercules, and an imitator of Bacchus, insomuch that he was called the younger Bacchus. The same wind threw down the colossal statues of Eumenes and Attalus, called the Antonii, while the rest were unmoved. And in Cleopatra's royal galley, which was called *Antonias*, a terrible phenomenon appeared. Some swallows had built their nest in the stern, and others drove them away and destroyed their young.

Upon the commencement of the war, Antony had no fewer than 500 armed vessels, magnificently adorned, and furnished with eight or ten banks of oars. He had, however, 100,000 foot, and 12,000 horse. The auxiliary kings, who fought under his banners, were Bocchus of Africa, Tarcondemus of the Upper Cilicia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Adallas of Thrace. Those who did not attend in person, but sent supplies, were Polemo of Pontus, Malchus of Arabia, *Herod of Judea*, and Amyntas king of Lycaonia and Galatia. Besides these he had supplies also from the king of the Medes. Cæsar had 250 men of war, 80,000 foot, and an equal number of horse with the enemy. Antony's dominions lay from the Euphrates and Armenia, to the Ionian sea and Illyria : Cæsar's extended from Illyria to the western ocean, and from that again to the Tus-

can and Sicilian sea. He had likewise all that part of Africa which lies opposite to Italy, Gaul and Spain, as far as the pillars of Hercules. The rest of that country from Cyrene to Ethiopia was in the possession of Antony.

But such a slave was he to the will of a woman, that though much superior at land, to gratify her, he put his whole confidence in the navy; notwithstanding that *the ships had not half their complement of men, and the officers were obliged to press and pick up in Greece, vagrants, ass-drivers, reapers and boys.* Nor could they make up their numbers even with these, but many of the ships were still almost empty. *Cæsar's ships, which were not high-built or splendidly set off for show, but tight good sailors well manned and equipped,* continued in the harbours of Tarentum and Brundisium. From thence he sent to Antony, desiring he would meet him with his forces, that no time might be lost; offering at the same time to leave the ports and harbours free for his landing, and to withdraw his army a day's journey on horseback, that he might make good his encampment. To this Antony returned a haughty answer, and though he was the older man, challenged Cæsar to single combat; or if he should decline this, he might meet him at Pharsalia, and decide it where Cæsar and Pompey had done before. Cæsar prevented this; for while Antony made for Actium, which is now called Nicopolis, he crossed the Ionian, and seized on Toryne, a place in Epirus. Antony was distressed on finding this, because he was without his infantry: but Cleopatra made a jest of it, and asked him if it was so very dreadful a thing that Cæsar was got into the *Ladle* (in Greek *Toryne*).

Antony, as soon as it was daylight, perceived the enemy making up to him; and fearing that his ill-manned vessels would be unable to stand the attack, he armed the rowers, and placed them on the decks to make a show: with the oars suspended on each side of the vessels, he proceeded in this mock form of battle towards Actium. Cæsar was deceived by the stratagem and retired. The water about Cæsar's camp was both scarce and bad, and Antony had the address to cut off the little that they had.

It was much about this time, that, contrary to the inclination of Cleopatra, he acted so generous a part by Domitius. The latter, even when he had a fever upon him, took a small boat and went over to Cæsar: Antony, though he could not but resent this, sent after him his baggage, his friends, and servants; and Domitius, as if it had been for grief that his treachery was discovered, died very soon after.¹ Amyntas and Deiotarus likewise went over to Cæsar.

Antony's fleet was so very unsuccessful, and so unfit for service,

¹ Plutarch seems to be ill informed about this matter. It is most probable that Domitius, one of the firmest friends of Antony, was delirious when he went over to Cæsar, and that Antony was

sensible of this when he sent his attendants after him. It is possible, at the same time, that when he returned to himself, the sense of his desertion might occasion his death.

that he was obliged at last to think of his land forces ; and Canidius, who had been retained in the interest of Cleopatra, now changing his mind, thought it necessary that she should be sent away, and that Antony should retire into Thrace and Macedonia to decide it in the field. These places were thought of the rather, because Dicomæ, king of the Getæ, had offered to assist Antony with a large army. To give up the sea to Cæsar, who, in his Sicilian wars, had acquired so much experience upon it, he said, would be no disgrace ; but to give up the advantage which so able a general as himself might make of his land forces, and waste the strength of so many legions in useless draughts for the sea service, would be infinitely absurd. Cleopatra, however, prevailed for the decision by sea ; though her motive was not the superior chance of victory, but, in case of being vanquished, the better opportunity to escape.

There was a neck of land that lay between Antony's camp and his fleet, along which he used to go frequently from one to the other. Cæsar was informed by a domestic how easy it might be to seize Antony in this passage, and he sent a party to lie in wait for that purpose. They were so near carrying their point that they seized the person who went before Antony, and had they not been too hasty, he must have fallen into their hands, for it was with the greatest difficulty that he made his escape by flight.

After it was determined to decide the affair by sea, they set fire to all the Egyptian vessels except sixty. The best and largest ships from three ranks of oars to ten were selected, and these had their proper complement of men, for they were supplied with 20,000 foot and 2,000 archers. Upon this a veteran warrior, an experienced officer in the infantry, who had often fought under Antony, and whose body was covered with scars, cried, pointing to those scars, "Why will you, general, distrust these honest wounds, and rest your hopes on those villainous wooden bottoms ? Let the Egyptians and the Phœnicians skirmish at sea ; but give us at least the land ; for there it is we have learned to conquer or to die." Antony made no answer, but seemed to encourage him by the motions of his hand and head ; though, at the same time, he had no great confidence himself ; for when the pilots would have left the sails behind, he ordered them to take them all on board, pretending, indeed, that it should be done to pursue the enemy's flight, not to facilitate his own.

On that and the three following days, the sea ran too high for an engagement ; but on the fifth the weather was fine and the sea calm. Antony and Poplicola led the right wing, Cælius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Justeiis commanded the centre. Cæsar had given his left wing to Agrippa, and led the right himself. Antony's land forces were commanded by Canidius, and Cæsar's remained quiet on the shore, under the command of Taurus. As to the generals themselves, Antony was rowed about in a light vessel, ordering his men on account of the weight of their vessels to keep their ground and fight as steadily as if they were

at land. He ordered his pilots to stand as firm as if they were at anchor, in that position to receive the attacks of the enemy, and by all means to avoid the disadvantage of the straits. Cæsar, when he left his tent before day, to review his fleet, met a man who was driving an ass. Upon asking his name, the man answered, my name is *Eutychus* (Good Fortune) and the name of my ass is *Nicon* (Victory). The place where he met him was afterwards adorned with trophies of the beaks of ships, and there he placed the statue of the ass and his driver in brass. After having reviewed the whole fleet, and taken his post in the right wing, he attended to the fleet of the enemy, which he was surprised to find steady and motionless as if it lay at anchor. For some time he was of opinion that it was so, and for that reason he kept back his fleet at the distance of eight furlongs. About noon there was a brisk gale from the sea, and Antony's forces being impatient for the combat, and trusting to the height and bulk of their vessels, which they thought would render them invincible, put the left wing in motion. Cæsar rejoiced at the sight of this, and kept back his right wing, that he might the more effectually draw them out to the open sea, where his light galleys could easily surround the heavy half-manned vessels of the enemy.

The attack was not made with any violence or impetuosity : for Antony's ships were too heavy for that kind of rapid impression, which, however, is very necessary for the breach of the enemy's vessel. On the other hand, Cæsar's ships durst neither encounter head to head with Antony's, on account of the strength and roughness of their beaks, nor yet attack them on the sides, since by means of their weight they would easily have broken their beaks, which were made of large square pieces of timber fastened to each other with iron cramps. The engagement, therefore, was like a battle at land, rather than a sea fight, or, more properly, like the storming of a town : for there were generally three or more ships of Cæsar's about one of Antony's, assaulting it with pikes, javelins, and fire-brands, while Antony's men, out of their wooden towers,¹ threw weapons of various kinds from engines. Agrippa opened his left wing with a design to surround the enemy, and Poplicola, in his endeavour to prevent him, was separated from the main body, which threw it into disorder, while at the same time it was attacked with great vigour by Arruntius.² When things were in this situation, and nothing decisive was yet effected, Cleopatra's 60 ships on a sudden hoisted their sails, and fairly took to flight, through the midst of the combatants ; for they were placed in the rear of the large vessels, and by breaking their way through them they occasioned no small confusion. The enemy saw them with astonishment making their way with a fair wind for the Peloponnesus. Antony, on this occasion, forgot both the general and the

¹ His ships are so called on account of their tallness.

² Arruntius must have commanded

Cæsar's centre, though that circumstance is not mentioned.

man ; and as some author has pleasantly observed, *that a lover's soul lives in the body of his mistress*, so, as if he had been absolutely incorporated with her, he suffered her to carry him soul and body away. No sooner did he see her vessel hoisting sail, than forgetting every other object, forgetting those brave friends that were shedding their blood in his cause, he took a five-oared galley, and accompanied only by Alexander the Syrian, and Scellius, followed her who was the first cause, and now the accomplisher of his ruin. Her own destruction was certain, and he voluntarily involved himself in her fate.

When she saw him coming, she put up a signal in her vessel, on which he soon went aboard : neither of them could look each other in the face, and Antony sat down at the head of the ship, where he remained in sombre silence, holding his head between his hands. In the meantime Cæsar's light ships that were in pursuit of Antony, came in sight. Upon this he ordered his pilots to tack about and meet them ; but they all declined the engagement and made off, except Eurycles the Lacedæmonian, who shook his lance at him in a menacing manner on the deck. Antony standing at the head of his galley, cried, "*Who art thou that thou pursuest Antony ?*" He answered, "*I am Eurycles the son of Lachares, and follow the fortunes of Cæsar to revenge my father's death.*" This Lachares Antony had beheaded for a robbery. Eurycles, however, did not attack Antony's vessel, but fell upon the other admiral galley (for there were two of that rank), and by the shock turned her round. He took that vessel and another which contained Antony's most valuable plate and furniture. When Eurycles was gone, Antony returned to the same pensive posture ; and continuing thus for three days, during which, either through shame or resentment, he refused to see Cleopatra, he arrived at Tænarus. There the women who attended them, first brought them to speak to each other, then to dine together, and not long after, as it may be supposed, to sleep together. At last, several of his transports, and some of his friends who had escaped from the defeat, came up with him, and informed him that his fleet was totally destroyed, but that his land forces were yet unhurt. Hereupon, he sent orders to Canidius immediately to march his army through Macedonia into Asia. As for himself, he determined to sail from Tænarus into Africa, and dividing one ship load of treasure amongst his friends, he desired them to provide for their own safety. They refused the treasure, and expressed their sorrow in tears ; while Antony, with the kindest and most humane consolations, entreated them to accept it, and dismissed them with letters of recommendation to his agent at Corinth, whom he ordered to give them refuge till they could be reconciled to Cæsar. This agent was Theophilus the father of Hipparchus, who had great interest with Antony ; but was the first of his freedmen that went over to Cæsar. He afterwards settled at Corinth.

In this posture were the affairs of Antony. After his fleet at Actium had long struggled with Cæsar's, a hard gale which blew

right a-head of the ships, obliged them to give out about four in the afternoon. About 5,000 men were slain in the action, and Cæsar, according to his own account, took 300 ships. Antony's flight was observed by few, and to those who had not seen it, it was at first incredible. They could not possibly believe that a general who had 19 legions and 12,000 horse, a general to whom vicissitude of fortune was nothing new, would so basely desert them. His soldiers had an inexpressible desire to see him, and still expecting that he would appear in some part or other, gave the strongest testimony of their courage and fidelity. Nay, when they were even convinced that he was irrecoverably fled, they continued embodied for seven days, and would not listen to the ambassadors of Cæsar. At last, however, when Canidius who commanded them fled from the camp by night, and when they were abandoned by their principal officers, they surrendered to Cæsar.

After this great success, Cæsar sailed for Athens. The cities of Greece he found in extreme poverty; for they had been plundered of their cattle and everything else before the war. He, therefore, not only admitted them to favour, but made a distribution amongst them of the remainder of the corn which had been provided for the war. *My great grandfather, Nicarchus, used to relate, that, as the inhabitants of Charonea had no horses, they were compelled to carry a certain quantity of corn on their shoulders to the sea-coast as far as Anticyra, and were driven by soldiers with stripes like so many beasts of burden.* This, however, was done but once; for when the corn was measured a second time, and they were preparing to carry it, news came of Antony's defeat, and this saved the city from further hardships; for the commissaries and soldiers immediately took to flight, and left the poor inhabitants to share the corn amongst themselves.

When Antony arrived in Libya, he sent Cleopatra from Parætonium into Egypt, and retired to a melancholy desert, where he wandered up and down, with only two attendants. One of these was Aristocrates the Greek rhetorician: the other was Lucilius, who, to favour the escape of Brutus at the battle of Philippi, assumed his name, and suffered himself to be taken. Antony saved him, and he was so grateful that he attended him to the last.

When Antony was informed that he who commanded his troops in Libya was gone over to the enemy, he attempted to lay violent hands on himself; but he was prevented by his friends, who conveyed him to Alexandria, where he found Cleopatra engaged in a very bold enterprise.

Between the Red Sea and the Egyptian, there is an isthmus which divides Asia from Africa, and which, in the narrowest part, is about 300 furlongs in breadth. Cleopatra had formed a design of drawing her galleys over this part into the Red Sea, and purposed with all her wealth and forces to seek some remote country, where she might neither be reduced to slavery, nor involved in war. However, the first galleys that were carried over, being burned by the

Arabians of Petra,¹ and Antony not knowing that his land forces were dispersed, she gave up this enterprise, and began to fortify the avenues of her kingdom. Antony in the meantime forsook the city and the society of his friends, and retired to a small house which he had built himself near Pharos, on a mound he had cast up in the sea. In this place, sequestered from all commerce with mankind, he affected to live like Timon, because there was a resemblance in their fortunes. He had been deserted by his friends, and their ingratitude had put him out of humour with his own species.

This Timon was a citizen of Athens, and lived about the time of the Peloponnesian war, as appears from the comedies of Aristophanes and Plato, in which he is exposed as the hater of mankind. Yet, though he hated mankind in general, he caressed the bold and impudent boy Alcibiades, and being asked the reason of this by Apemantus, who expressing some surprise at it, he answered, it was because he foresaw that he would plague the people of Athens. Apemantus was the only one he admitted to his society, and he was his friend in point of principle. At the feast of sacrifices for the dead, these two dined by themselves, and when Apemantus observed that the feast was excellent, Timon answered, "It would be so if you were not here." Once in an assembly of the people, he mounted the rostrum, and the novelty of the thing occasioned a universal silence and expectation: at length he said, "People of Athens, there is a fig-tree in my yard, on which many worthy citizens have hanged themselves; and as I have determined to build upon the spot, I thought it necessary to give this public notice, that such as choose to have recourse to this tree for the aforesaid purpose may repair to it before it is cut down." He was buried at Halæ near the sea, and the water surrounded his tomb in such a manner, that he was even then inaccessible to mankind. The following epitaph is inscribed on his monument:—

At last, I've bid the knaves farewell;
Ask not my name—but go—to hell.

It is said that he wrote this epitaph himself. That which is commonly repeated, was written by Callimachus.

My name is Timon: knaves, begone!
Curse me, but come not near my stone!

These are some of the many anecdotes we have concerning Timon.

Canidius himself brought Antony news of the defection of his army. Soon after he heard that *Herod of Judea* was gone over to Cæsar with some legions and cohorts, that several other powers had deserted his interest, and, in short, that he had no foreign assistance to depend upon. None of these things, however, disturbed him; for at once abandoning his hopes and his cares, he left his Timonian retreat, and returned to Alexandria; where, in the palace of Cleopatra, he once more entertained the citizens with his usual festivity and munificence. He gave the *toga virilis* to

¹ Dion tells us, that the vessels which were burned were not those that were

drawn over the isthmus, but some that had been built on that side. Lib. 51.

Antyllus, his son by Fulvia, and admitted Cleopatra's son by Cæsar into the order of young men. The entertainments on this occasion were infinitely pompous and magnificent, and lasted many days.

Antony and Cleopatra had before established a society called the *Inimitable Livers*, of which they were members : but they now instituted another by no means inferior in splendour or luxury, called *The Companions in Death*. Their friends were admitted into this, and the time passed in mutual treats and diversions. Cleopatra, at the same time, was making a collection of poisonous drugs, and being desirous to know which was the least painful in the operation, she tried them on the capital convicts. Such poisons as were quick in their operation she found to be attended with violent pain and convulsions ; such as were milder were slow in their effect ; she, therefore, applied herself to the examination of venomous creatures, and caused different kinds of them to be applied to different persons under her own inspection. These experiments she repeated daily, and at length *she found that the bite of the asp* (*Aspis somniculosa*, Sisen), *was the most eligible kind of death* ; for it brought on a gradual kind of lethargy, in which the face was covered with a gentle sweat, and the senses sunk easily into stupefaction : and those who were thus affected showed the same uneasiness at being disturbed or awaked, that people do in the profoundest natural sleep.

They both sent ambassadors to Cæsar in Asia. Cleopatra requested Egypt for her children, and Antony only petitioned that he might be permitted to live as a private man in Egypt, or if that were too much, that he might retire to Athens. Deserted as they were by almost all their friends, and hardly knowing in whom to confide, they were forced to send Euphronius, their children's tutor, on this embassy. Alexis of Laodicea, who, by means of Timogenes, became acquainted with Antony at Rome, a man of great skill in the Greek learning, and one of Cleopatra's chief agents in keeping Antony from Octavia, he had before despatched to *Judea to detain Herod in his interest*. This man gave up Antony, and, relying on Herod's interest, had the confidence to appear before Cæsar. The interest of Herod, however, did not save him ; for he was immediately carried in chains into his own country, and there put to death. Thus Antony had, at least, the satisfaction of seeing him punished for his perfidy.

Cæsar absolutely rejected Antony's petition ; but he answered Cleopatra, that she might expect every favour from him, provided she either took off Antony, or banished him her dominions. At the same time he sent Thyreus¹ to her, who was one of his freed-

¹ Dion calls him Thyreus. Antony and Cleopatra sent other ambassadors to Cæsar with offers of considerable treasures, and last of all Antony sent his son Antyllus with large sums of gold. Cæsar with that meanness which made a part of his character, took the gold, but granted

him none of his requests. Fearing, however, that despair might put Antony upon the resolution of carrying the war into Spain or Gaul, or provoke him to burn the wealth that Cleopatra had been amassing, he sent this Thyreus to Alexandria.

men, and whose address was not unlikely to carry his point, particularly as he came from a young conqueror to the court of a vain and ambitious queen, who had still the highest opinion of her personal charms.¹ As this ambassador was indulged with audiences longer and more frequent than usual, Antony grew jealous, and having first ordered him to be whipped, he sent him back to Cæsar with letters, wherein he informed him, that he had been provoked by the insolence of his freedman at a time when his misfortunes made him but too prone to anger. "However," added he, "you have a freedman of mine, Hipparchus, in your power, and if it will be any satisfaction to you, use him in the same manner." Cleopatra, that she might make some amends for her indiscretion, behaved to him afterwards with great tenderness and respect. She kept her birth-day in a manner suitable to their unhappy circumstances; but his was celebrated with such magnificence, that many of the guests who came poor, returned wealthy.

After Antony's overthrow, Agrippa wrote several letters to Cæsar, to inform him that his presence was necessary at Rome. This put off the war for some time; but as soon as the winter was over, Cæsar marched against Antony by the route of Syria, and sent his lieutenants on the same business into Africa. When Pelusium was taken it was rumoured that Seleucus had delivered up the place with the connivance or consent of Cleopatra: whereupon the queen, in order to justify herself, gave up the wife and children of Seleucus into the hands of Antony. Cleopatra had erected near the temple of Isis some monuments of extraordinary size and magnificence. To these she removed her treasure, her gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, together with a large quantity of flax, and a number of torches. Cæsar was under some apprehension about this immense wealth, lest, upon some sudden emergency, she should set fire to the whole. For this reason he was continually sending messengers to her with assurances of gentle and honourable treatment, while in the meantime he hastened to the city with his army.

When he arrived he encamped near the Hippodrome; upon which Antony made a brisk sally, routed the cavalry, drove them back into their trenches, and returned to the city with the complacency of a conqueror. As he was going to the palace he met Cleopatra, whom, armed as he was, he kissed without ceremony, and at the same time he recommended to her favour a brave soldier, who had distinguished himself in the engagement. She presented the soldier with a cuirass and helmet of gold, which he took, and the same night went over to Cæsar. After this, Antony challenged Cæsar to fight him in single combat, but Cæsar only answered, that *Antony might think of many other ways to end his life*. Antony, therefore, concluding that he could not die more honourably than

¹ Dion says, that Thyreus was instructed to make use of the softest address, and to insinuate that Cæsar was captivated with her beauty. The object

of this measure was to prevail on her to take off Antony while she was flattered with the prospect of obtaining the conqueror.

in battle, determined to attack Cæsar at the same time both by sea and land. The night preceding the execution of his design, he ordered his servants at supper to render him their best services that evening, and fill the wine round plentifully ; for the day following they might belong to another master, whilst he lay extended on the ground, no longer of consequence either to them or to himself. His friends were affected, and wept to hear him talk thus ; which, when he perceived, he encouraged them by assurances, that his expectations of a glorious victory were at least equal to those of an honourable death. At the dead of night, when universal silence reigned through the city, a silence that was deepened by the awful thought of the ensuing day, on a sudden was heard the sound of musical instruments, and a noise which resembled the exclamations of Bacchanals. This tumultuous procession seemed to pass through the whole city, and to go out at the gate which led to the enemy's camp. Those who reflected on this prodigy, concluded that Bacchus, the god whom Antony affected to imitate, had then forsaken him.

As soon as it was light, he led his infantry out of the city, and posted them on a rising ground, from whence he saw his fleet advance towards the enemy. There he stood waiting for the event ; but as soon as the two fleets met, they hailed each other with their oars in a very friendly manner (Antony's fleet making the first advances), and sailed together peaceably towards the city. This was no sooner done than the cavalry deserted him in the same manner, and surrendered to Cæsar. His infantry were routed ; and as he retired to the city, he exclaimed that Cleopatra had betrayed him to those with whom he was fighting only for her sake.

The unhappy queen, dreading the effects of his anger, fled to her monument, and having secured it as much as possible with bars and bolts, she gave orders that Antony should be informed she was dead. Believing the information to be true, he cried, "Antony, why dost thou delay ? What is life to thee, when it is taken from her, for whom alone thou couldst wish to live ?" He then went to his chamber, and opening his coat of mail, he said, "I am not distressed, Cleopatra, that thou art gone before me, for I shall soon be with thee : but I grieve to think that I, who have been so distinguished a general, should be inferior in magnanimity to a woman." He was then attended by a faithful servant, whose name was *Eros*. He had engaged this servant to kill him whenever he should think it necessary, and he now demanded that service. *Eros* drew his sword, as if he designed to kill him ; but suddenly turning about, he slew himself, and fell at his master's feet ! "This, *Eros*, was greatly done," said Antony ; "thy heart would not permit thee to kill thy master, but thou hast taught him what to do by thy example." He then plunged his sword into his bowels, and threw himself on a couch that stood by. The wound, however, was not so deep as to cause immediate death ; and the blood stopping as he lay on the couch, he came to himself, and entreated those who stood by to put him out of his pain. They all fled

nevertheless, and left him to his cries and torments, till Diomedes, secretary to Cleopatra, came with her request, that he would come to her in the monument. When Antony found that she was still living, it gave him fresh spirits, and he ordered his servants to take him up. Accordingly they carried him in their arms to the door of the monument. Cleopatra would not suffer the door to be opened, but a cord being let down from a window, Antony was fastened to it, and she, with her two women, all that were admitted into the monument, drew him up. Nothing, as they who were present observed, could possibly be more affecting than that spectacle. Antony, covered with blood, and in the agonies of death, hoisted up by the rope, and stretching out his hands to Cleopatra, while he was suspended, for a considerable time, in the air ! For it was with the greatest difficulty they drew him up, though Cleopatra herself exerted all her strength, straining every nerve, and distorting every feature with the violence of the effort ; while those who stood below endeavoured to animate and encourage her, and seemed to partake in all the toil, and all the emotions that she felt. When she had drawn him up, and laid him on a bed, as she stood over him, she rent her clothes, beat and wounded her breast, and wiping the blood from his disfigured countenance, she called him her lord, her emperor, her husband ! Her soul was absorbed in his misfortunes ; and she seemed totally to have forgotten that she had any miseries of her own. Antony endeavoured to soothe her as well as he was able, and called for wine : either because he was thirsty, or because he thought it might sooner put him out of his pain. When he had drank, he advised her to consult her own affairs and her safety, so far as might be consistent with honour, and to place her confidence in Proculeius rather than in the other friends of Cæsar. "As to himself," he said, "that she ought rather to rejoice in the remembrance of his past happiness than to bewail his present misfortunes ; since in his life he had been illustrious, and was not inglorious in his death. He had conquered like a Roman, and it was only by a Roman that he was conquered." A little before he expired, Proculeius arrived from Cæsar ; for after Antony had stabbed himself, and was conveyed to Cleopatra, Dercetæus, one of his guards, privately carried off his bloody sword, and showed it to Cæsar. When Cæsar beheld this token of Antony's death, he retired to the inner part of his tent, and shed some tears in remembrance of a man who had been his relation, his colleague in government, and his associate in so many battles and important affairs.¹ He then called his friends together, and read the letters which had passed between him and Antony, wherein it appeared that, though Cæsar had still written in a rational and

¹ This retirement of Cæsar was certainly an affectation of concern. The death of Antony had been an invariable object with him. He was too cowardly to think himself safe while he lived ; and

to expose his weakness by reading his letters the moment he was informed of his death, was certainly no proof that he felt even then any tenderness for his memory.

equitable manner, the answers of Antony were insolent and contemptuous. After this he despatched Proculeius with orders to take Cleopatra alive, if it were possible, for he was extremely solicitous to save the treasures in the monument, which would so greatly add to the glory of his triumph. However, she refused to admit him into the monument, and would only speak to him through the bolted gate. The substance of this conference was, that Cleopatra made a requisition of the kingdom for her children, while Proculeius, on the other hand, encouraged her to trust everything to Cæsar.

After he had reconnoitred the place, he sent an account of it to Cæsar, upon which Gallus was despatched to confer with Cleopatra. The thing was thus concerted : Gallus went up to the gate of the monument, and drew Cleopatra into conversation, while, in the mean time, Proculeius applied a ladder to the window, where the women had taken in Antony ; and having got in with two servants, he immediately made for the place where Cleopatra was in conference with Gallus. One of her women discovered him, and immediately screamed aloud, "Wretched Cleopatra, you are taken alive." She turned about, and, seeing Proculeius, the same instant attempted to stab herself ; for to this intent she always carried a dagger about with her. Proculeius, however, prevented her, and, expostulating with her, as he held her in his arms, he entreated her not to be so injurious to herself or to Cæsar :—that she would not deprive so humane a prince of the glory of his clemency, or expose him by her distrust to the imputation of treachery or cruelty. At the same time he took the dagger from her, and shook her clothes, lest she should have poison concealed about her. Cæsar also sent his freedman Epaphroditus with orders to treat her with the greatest politeness, but, by all means, to bring her alive.

Cæsar entered Alexandria conversing with Arius the philosopher ; and that he might do him honour before the people, he led him by the hand. When he entered the Gymnasium, he ascended a tribunal which had been erected for him, and gave assurances to the citizens, who prostrated themselves before him, that the city should not be hurt. He told them he had different motives for this. In the first place, it was built by Alexander, in the next place, he admired it for its beauty and magnitude ; and, lastly, he would spare it, were it but for the sake of his friend Arius, who was born there. Cæsar gave him the high honour of this appellation, and pardoned many at his request. Amongst these was Philostratus, one of the most acute and eloquent sophists of his time. This man, without any right, pretended to be a follower of the academics ; and Cæsar, from a bad opinion of his morals, rejected his petition. upon which the sophist followed Arius up and down in a mourning cloak, with a long white beard, crying, constantly,

"The wise, if really such, will save the wise."

Cæsar heard and pardoned him, not so much out of favour, as to

save Arius from the impertinence and envy he might incur on his account.

Antyllus, the eldest son of Antony by Fulvia, was betrayed by his tutor Theodorus and put to death. While the soldiers were beheading him, the tutor stole a jewel of considerable value, which he wore about his neck, and concealed it in his girdle. When he was charged with it, he denied the fact; but the jewel was found upon him, and he was crucified. Cæsar appointed a guard over Cleopatra's children and their governors, and allowed them an honourable support. Cæsario, the reputed son of Cæsar the dictator, had been sent by his mother, with a considerable sum of money, through Æthiopia into India. But Rhoden, his governor, a man of the same principles with Theodorus, persuading him that Cæsar would certainly make him king of Egypt, prevailed on him to turn back. While Cæsar was deliberating how he should dispose of him, Arius is said to have observed, that there ought not, by any means, to be too many Cæsars. However, soon after the death of Cleopatra, he was slain.

Many considerable princes begged the body of Antony, that they might have the honour of giving it burial; but Cæsar would not take it from Cleopatra, who interred it with her own hands, and performed the funeral rites with great magnificence; for she was allowed to expend what she thought proper on the occasion. The excess of her affliction and the inflammation of her breast, which was wounded by the blows she had given it in her anguish, threw her into a fever. She was pleased to find an excuse in this for abstaining from food, and hoped, by this means, to die without interruption. The physician, in whom she placed her principal confidence, was Olympus; and, according to his short account of these transactions, she made use of his advice in the accomplishment of her design. Cæsar, however, suspected it; and that he might prevail on her to take the necessary food and physic, he threatened to treat her children with severity. This had the desired effect, and her resolution was overborne.¹

A few days after, Cæsar himself made her a visit of condolence and consolation. She was then in an undress, and lying negligently on a couch; but when the conqueror entered the apartment, though she had nothing on, but a single bedgown, she arose and threw herself at his feet. Her face was out of figure, her hair in disorder, her voice trembling, her eyes sunk, and her bosom bore the marks of the injuries she had done it. In short, her person gave one the image of her mind; yet, in this deplorable condition, there were some remains of that grace, that spirit and vivacity which had so peculiarly animated her former charms, and still some

¹ Cleopatra certainly possessed the virtues of fidelity and natural affection in a very eminent degree. She had several opportunities of betraying Antony, could she have been induced to it either by

fear or ambition. Her tenderness for her children is always superior to her self-love; and she had a greatness of soul which Cæsar never knew.

gleams of her native elegance might be seen to wander over her melancholy countenance.¹

When Cæsar had replaced her on her couch, and seated himself by her, she endeavoured to justify the part she took against him in the war, alleging the necessity she was under, and her fear of Antony. But when she found that these apologies had no weight with Cæsar, she had recourse to prayers and entreaties, as if she had been really desirous of life; and, at the same time, she put into his hands an inventory of her treasure. Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, accused her of suppressing some articles in the account; upon which she started up from her couch, caught him by the hair, and gave him several blows on the face. Cæsar smiled at this spirited resentment, and endeavoured to pacify her. "But how is it to be borne," said she, "Cæsar, if, while even you honour me with a visit in my wretched situation, I must be affronted by one of my own servants? Supposing that I have reserved a few trinkets, they were by no means intended as ornaments for my own person in these miserable fortunes, but as little presents for Octavia and Livia, by whose good offices I might hope to find favour with you." Cæsar was not displeased to hear this, because he flattered himself that she was willing to live. He, therefore, assured her, that, whatever she had reserved she might dispose of at her pleasure; and that she might, in every respect, depend on the most honourable treatment. After this, he took his leave, in confidence that he had brought her to his purpose; but she deceived him.

There was in Cæsar's train a young nobleman, whose name was Cornelius Dolabella. He was smitten with the charms of Cleopatra, and having engaged to communicate to her everything that passed he sent her private notice that Cæsar was about to return into Syria, and that, within three days, she would be sent away with her children. When she was informed of this, she requested of Cæsar permission to make her last oblations to Antony. This being granted she was conveyed to the place where he was buried; and kneeling at his tomb, with her women, she thus addressed the manes of the dead:—"It is not long, my Antony, since with these hands I buried thee. Alas! they then were free; but thy Cleopatra is now a prisoner, attended by a guard, lest in the transports of her grief, she should disfigure this captive body, which is reserved to adorn the triumph over thee. These are the last offerings, the last honours she can pay thee: for she is now to be conveyed to a distant country. Nothing could part us while we lived: but in death we are to be divided. Thou, though a Roman, liest buried in Egypt; and I, an Egyptian, must be interred in Italy, the only

¹ Dion gives a more pompous account of her reception of Cæsar. She received him, he tells us, in a magnificent apartment, lying on a splendid bed, in a mourning habit, which peculiarly became her; that she had several pictures of

Julius Cæsar placed near her; and some letters she had received from him in her bosom. The conversation turned on the same subject; and her speech on the occasion is recorded. Dion l. 54.

favour I shall receive from thy country. Yet, if the gods of Rome have power or mercy left (for surely those of Egypt have forsaken us¹), let them not suffer me to be led in living triumph to thy disgrace! No!—hide me, hide me with thee in the grave; for life, since thou hast left it, has been misery to me."

Thus the unhappy queen bewailed her misfortunes; and, after she had crowned the tomb with flowers, and kissed it, she ordered her bath to be prepared. When she had bathed, she sat down to a magnificent supper; soon after which, a peasant came to the gate with a small basket. The guards inquired what it contained; and the man who brought it, putting by the leaves which lay uppermost, showed them a parcel of figs. As they admired their size and beauty, he smiled and bade them take some; but they refused, and not suspecting that the basket contained anything else, it was carried in. After supper, Cleopatra sent a letter to Cæsar, and, ordering everybody out of the monument, except her two women, she made fast the door. When Cæsar opened the letter, the plaintive style in which it was written, and the strong request that she might be buried in the same tomb with Antony, made him suspect her design. At first he was for hastening to her himself, but he changed his mind and despatched others.² Her death, however, was so sudden, that though they who were sent ran the whole way, alarmed the guards with their apprehensions, and immediately broke open the doors, they found her quite dead,³ lying on her golden bed, and dressed in all her royal ornaments. Iris, one of her women, lay dead at her feet, and Charmion, hardly able to support herself, was adjusting her mistress's diadem. One of Cæsar's messengers said angrily, "Charmion, was this well done?" "Perfectly well," said she, "and worthy a descendant of the kings of Egypt." She had no sooner said this, than she fell down dead.

It is related by some that an asp was brought in amongst the figs, and hid under the leaves; and that Cleopatra had ordered it so that she might be bit without seeing it; that, however, upon removing the leaves, she perceived it, and said, "This is what I wanted." Upon which she immediately held out her arm to it. Others say, that the asp was kept in a water vessel, and that she vexed and pricked it with a golden spindle till it seized her arm. Nothing of this, however, could be ascertained; for it was reported likewise that she carried about with her a certain poison in a hollow bodkin that she wore in her hair; yet there was neither any mark of poison on her body, nor was there any serpent found in the monument, though the track of a reptile was said to have been discovered on the sea sands opposite to the windows of Cleopatra's apartment. Others, again, have affirmed that she had two small

¹ It was the opinion of the ancients, that the gods forsook the vanquished. Thus Virgil:—
Excessere omnes, adytis arisque relictis.
Nil, quibus imperium hoc steterat.

Æn. ii.

And Tacitus.—Alleni Jam Imperii deos.
² This is another instance of his personal cowardice.

³ Dion says, that Cæsar ordered her to be sucked by the *Psylli*, that the poison might be drawn out; but it was too late

punctures on her arm, apparently occasioned by the sting of the asp; and it is clear that Cæsar gave credit to this; for her effigy, which he carried in triumph, had an asp on the arm.¹

Such are the accounts we have of the death of Cleopatra; and though Cæsar was much disappointed by it, he admired her fortitude, and ordered her to be buried in the tomb of Antony, with all the magnificence due to her quality. Her women, too, were, by his orders, interred with great funeral pomp. Cleopatra died at the age of 39, after having reigned 22 years, the 14 last in conjunction with Antony. Antony was 53, some say 56, when he died. His statues were all demolished, but Cleopatra's remain untouched; for Archibius, a friend of hers, gave Cæsar 1000 talents for their redemption.

Antony left by his three wives seven children,² whereof Antyllus, the eldest, only was put to death. Octavia took the rest, and educated them as her own. Cleopatra, his daughter by Cleopatra, was married to Juba, one of the politest princes of his time; and Octavia made Antony, his son by Fulvia, so considerable with Cæsar, that, after Agrippa and the sons of Livia, he was generally allowed to hold the first place in his favour. Octavia, by her first husband Marcellus, had two daughters and a son named Marcellus. One of these daughters she married to Agrippa; and the son married a daughter of Cæsar's. But as he died soon after, and Octavia observing that her brother was at a loss whom he should adopt in his place, she prevailed on him to give his daughter Julia to Agrippa, though her own daughter must necessarily be divorced to make way for her. Cæsar and Agrippa, having agreed on this point, she took back her daughter and married her to Antony. Of the two daughters, that Octavia had by Antony, one was married to Domitius Ænobarbus, and the other, Antonia, so much celebrated for her beauty and virtue, married Drusus, the son of Livia, and son-in-law to Cæsar. Of this line came Germanicus and Claudius. Claudius was afterwards emperor; and so likewise was Caius the son of Germanicus, who, after a short but infamous reign, was put to death, together with his wife and daughter. Agrippina, who had Lucius Domitius by Ænobarbus, was afterwards married to Claudius Cæsar. He adopted Domitius, whom he named Nero Germanicus. This Nero, who was emperor in our times, put his own mother to death, and, by the madness of his conduct, went near to ruin the Roman empire. He was the fifth in descent from Antony.

¹ This may be a matter of doubt. There would, of course, be an asp on the diadem of the effigy, because it was peculiar to the kings of Egypt; and this might give rise to the report of an asp being on the arm.

² By Fulvia, he had Antyllus and Antony; by Cleopatra, he had Cleopatra, Ptolemy, and Alexander; and by Octavia Antonia major and minor.

GALBA.

[PHICRATES, the Athenian general, thought that a soldier of fortune should have an attachment both to money and pleasure, that his passions might put him upon fighting with more boldness for a supply. But most others are of opinion, that the main body of an army, like the healthy natural body, should have no motion of its own, but be entirely guided by the head. Hence Paulus Æmilius, when he found his army in Macedonia talkative, busy, and ready to direct their general, is said to have given orders, "That each should keep his hand fit for action, and his sword sharp, and leave the rest to him." And Plato, perceiving that the best general cannot undertake anything with success, unless his troops are sober and perfectly united to support him, concluded that to know how to obey required as generous a disposition, and as rational an education as to know how to command, for these advantages would connect the violence and impetuosity of the soldier with the mildness and humanity of the philosopher. Amongst other fatal examples, what happened amongst the Romans after the death of Nero, is sufficient to show that nothing is more dreadful than an undisciplined army actuated only by the impulse of their own ferocity. Demades, seeing the wild and violent motions of the Macedonian army after the death of Alexander, compared it to the Cyclops,¹ after his eye was put out. But the Roman empire more resembled the extravagant passions and ravings of the Titans, which the poets tell us of, when it was torn in pieces by rebellion, and turned its arms against itself, not so much through the ambition of the emperors, as the avarice and licentiousness of the soldiers, who drove out one emperor by another.²

Dionysius the Sicilian, speaking of Alexander of Phœria, who reigned in Thessaly only ten months, and then was slain, called him, in derision of the sudden change, a theatrical tyrant. But the palace of the Cæsars received four emperors in a less space of time, one entering, and another making his exit, as if they had only been acting a part upon the stage. The Romans, indeed, had one consolation amidst their misfortunes, that they needed no other revenge upon the authors of them than to see them destroy each other; and with the greatest justice of all fell the first, who corrupted the army, and taught them to expect so much upon the change of emperor; thus dishonouring a glorious action by mercenary considerations, and turning the revolt from Nero into treason. For Nymphidius Salinus, who, as we observed before,³ was joined in commission with Tigellinus, as captain of the prætorian cohorts, after Nero's affairs were in a desperate state, and it was plain that

¹ Polyphemus² In the life of Nero, which is lost³ In the original it is, *as one word is driven out by another*

he intended to retire into Egypt, persuaded the army, as if Nero had already abdicated, to declare Galba emperor, promising every soldier of the prætorian cohorts seven thousand five hundred drachmas, and the troops that were quartered in the provinces twelve hundred and sixty drachmas a man : a sum which it was impossible to collect without doing infinitely more mischief to the empire than Nero had done in his whole reign.

This proved the immediate ruin of Nero, and soon after destroyed Galba himself. They deserted Nero in hopes of receiving the money and despatched Galba because they did not receive it. Afterwards they sought for another who might pay them that sum, but they ruined themselves by their rebellions and treasons, without gaining what they had been made to expect. To give a complete and exact account of the affairs of those times belongs to the professed historian. It is, however, in my province to lay before the reader the most remarkable circumstances in the lives of the Cæsars.

It is an acknowledged truth, that Sulpitius Galba was the richest private man that ever rose to the imperial dignity. But though his extraction was of the noblest, from the family of the Servii, yet he thought it a greater honour to be related to Quintus Catulus Capitolinus, who was the first man in his time for virtue and reputation, though he voluntarily left to others the pre-eminence in power. He was also related to Livia, the wife of Augustus, and it was by her interest that he was raised from the office he had in the palace to the dignity of consul. It is said that he acquitted himself in his commission in Germany with honour ; and that he gained more reputation than most commanders, during his proconsulate in Africa. But his simple parsimonious way of living passed for avarice in an emperor ; and the pride he took in economy and strict temperance was out of character.

He was sent governor into Spain by Nero, before that emperor had learned to fear such of the citizens as had great authority in Rome. Besides, the mildness of his temper and his advanced time of life promised a cautious and prudent conduct. The emperor's receivers,¹ a most abandoned set of men, harassed the provinces in the most cruel manner. Galba could not assist them against their persecutors, but his concern for their misfortunes, which appeared not less than if he had been a sufferer himself, afforded them some consolation, even while they were condemned and sold for slaves. Many songs were made upon Nero, and sung everywhere ; and as Galba did not endeavour to suppress them, or join the receivers of the revenues in their resentment, that was a circumstance which endeared him still more to the natives. For by this time he had contracted a friendship with them, having long been their governor. He had borne that commission eight years, when Junius Vindex, who commanded in Gaul, revolted against Nero. It is said that,

¹ *Procuratores* : they had full powers to collect the revenues, and scrupled no acts

of oppression in the course of their proceedings.

before this rebellion broke out, Galba had intimations of it in letters from Vindex : but he neither countenanced nor discovered it, as the governors of other provinces did, who sent the letters they had received to Nero, and by that means ruined the project, as far as was in their power. Yet those governors afterwards joining in the conspiracy against their prince, showed that they could betray not only Vindex, but themselves.

But after Vindex had openly commenced hostilities, he wrote to Galba, desiring him "To accept the imperial dignity, and give a head to the strong Gallic body which so much wanted one ; which had no less than 100,000 men in arms, and was able to raise a much greater number."

Galba then called a council of his friends. Some of them advised him to wait and see what motions there might be in Rome, or inclinations for a change. But Titus Vinus, captain of one of the prætorian cohorts, said, "What room is there, Galba, for deliberation ? To inquire whether we shall continue faithful to Nero is to have revolted already. There is no medium. We must either accept the friendship of Vindex, as if Nero was our declared enemy, or accuse and fight Vindex, because he desires that the Romans should have Galba for their emperor rather than Nero for their tyrant." Upon this, Galba, by an edict, fixed a day for enfranchising all who should present themselves. The report of this soon drew together a multitude of people who were desirous of a change, and *he had no sooner mounted the tribunal than, with one voice, they declared him emperor.* He did not immediately accept the title, but accused Nero of great crimes, and lamented the fate of many Romans of great distinction, whom he had barbarously slain : after which he declared, "That he would serve his country with his best abilities, not as Cæsar or emperor, but as lieutenant to the senate and people of Rome."¹

That it was a just and rational scheme which Vindex adopted in calling Galba to the empire, there needs no better proof than Nero himself. For though he pretended to look upon the commotions in Gaul as nothing, yet when he received the news of Galba's revolt, which he happened to do just after he had bathed, and was sat down to supper, in his madness he overturned the table. However when the senate had declared Galba an enemy to his country, he affected to despise the danger, and, attempting to be merry upon it, said to his friends, "I have long wanted a pretence to raise money, and this will furnish me with an excellent one. The Gauls, when I have conquered them, will be a fine booty, and, in the meantime, I will seize the estate of Galba, since he is a declared enemy, and dispose of it as I think fit." Accordingly he gave directions that Galba's estate should be sold ; which Galba no sooner heard of, than he exposed to sale all that belonged to Nero in Spain, and more readily found purchasers.

¹ The Cæsius informs us, that this declaration was made about the thirteenth day before Galba's death, and

consequently on April 8 ; for he was assassinated on January 15 in the following year.

The revolt from Nero soon became general, and the governors of provinces declared for Galba : only Clodius Macer in Africa, and Virginius Rufus in Germany, stood out and acted for themselves, but upon different motives. Clodius being conscious to himself of much rapine and many murders, to which his avarice and cruelty had prompted him, was in a fluctuating state, and could not take his resolution either to assume or reject the imperial title. And Virginius, who commanded some of the best legions in the empire, and had been often pressed by them to take the title of emperor, declared, "That he would neither take it himself, nor suffer it to be given to any other but the person whom the senate should name."

Galba was not a little alarmed at this at first. But after the forces of Virginius and Vindex had overpowered them, like charioteers no longer able to manage the reins, and forced them to fight, Vindex lost 20,000 Gauls in the battle, and then despatched himself. A report was then current, that the victorious army, in consequence of so great an advantage, would insist that Virginius should accept the imperial dignity, and that, if he refused it, they would turn again to Nero. This put Galba in a great consternation, and he wrote letters to Virginius exhorting him to act in concert with him, for preserving the empire and liberty of the Romans. After which he retired with his friends to Colonia, a city in Spain, and there spent some time, rather in repenting what he had done, and wishing for the life of ease and leisure, to which he had so long been accustomed, than taking any of the necessary steps for his promotion.

It was now the beginning of summer, when one evening, a little before night, one of Galba's freedmen, a native of Sicily, arrived in seven days from Rome. Being told that Galba was retired to rest, he ran up to his chamber, and having opened it in spite of the resistance of the chamberlains, informed him, "That as Nero did not appear, though he was living at that time, the army first, and then the people and senate of Rome, had declared Galba emperor : and, not long after, news was brought that Nero was dead. He added, that he was not satisfied with the report, but went and saw the dead body of the tyrant, before he would set out." Galba was greatly elevated by this intelligence ; and he encouraged the multitudes that soon attended at the door by communicating it to them, though the expedition with which it was brought appeared incredible. But, two days after, Titus Vinus, with many others, arrived from the camp, and brought an account of all the proceedings of the senate. Vinus¹ was promoted to an honourable employment ; while the freedman had his name changed from Icelus to Marcianus, was *honoured with the privilege of wearing the gold ring*, and had more attention paid him than any of the other freedmen.

¹ Vinus was of a prætorian family, and had behaved with honour as governor of Gallia Narbonensis ; but when he became the favourite and first minister of the emperor of Rome, he soon made his

master obnoxious to the people, and ruined himself. The truth is, he was naturally of a bad disposition, and a man of no principle.

Meantime at Rome, Nymphidius Sabinus got the administration into his hands, not by slow and insensible steps, but with the greatest celerity. He knew that Galba, on account of his great age, being now seventy-three, was scarce able to make the journey to Rome, though carried in a litter. Besides, the forces there had been long inclined to serve him, and now they depended upon him only, considering him as their benefactor on account of the large gratuity he had promised, and Galba as their debtor. He therefore immediately commanded his colleague Tigellinus to give up his sword. He made great entertainments, at which he received persons of consular dignity, and such as had commanded armies and provinces; yet he gave the invitation in the name of Galba. He likewise instructed many of the soldiers to suggest it to the prætorian cohorts, that they should send a message to Galba, demanding that Nymphidius should be always their captain, and without a colleague. The readiness the senate expressed to add to his honour and authority, in calling him their benefactor, in going daily to pay their respects at his gate, and desiring that he would take upon him to propose and confirm every decree, wrought him to a much higher pitch of insolence; insomuch that, in a little time he became not only obnoxious, but formidable to the very persons that paid their court to him. *When the consuls had charged the public messengers with the decrees to be carried to the emperor, and had sealed the instruments with their seal, in order that the magistrates of the towns through which they were to pass, seeing their authority, might furnish them with carriages at every different stage for the greater expedition,* he resented it, that they had not made use of his seal, and employed his men to carry the despatches. It is said that he even had it under consideration whether he should not punish the consuls; but upon their apologising and begging pardon for the affront, he was appeased. To ingratiate himself with the people, he did not hinder them from despatching by torture such of Nero's creatures as fell into their hands. A gladiator, named Spicillus, was put under the statues of Nero, and dragged about with them in the *forum* till he died; Aponius, one of the informers, was extended on the ground, and waggon, loaded with stones, driven over him. They tore many others in pieces, and some who were entirely innocent. So that Mauriscus, who had not only the character of one of the best men in Rome, but really deserved it, said one day to the senate, "He was afraid they should soon regret the loss of Nero."

Nymphidius, thus advancing in his hopes, was not at all displeased at being called the son of Caius Cæsar, who reigned after Tiberius. It seems that prince, in his youth, had some commerce with his mother, who was daughter of Calista, one of Cæsar's freedmen, by a sempstress, and who was not wanting in personal charms. But it is evident that the connection Caius had with her, was after the birth of Nymphidius; and it was believed that he was the son of Martianus the gladiator, whom Nymphidia fell in love with, on account of his reputation in his way; besides his resemblance to

the gladiator gave a sanction to that opinion. Be that as it may, he acknowledged himself the son of Nymphidia, and yet insisted that he was the only person who deposed Nero. He aspired to the imperial seat, and had his engines privately at work in Rome, in which he employed his friends, with some intriguing women, and some men of consular rank. He sent also Gellianus, one of his friends, into Spain, to act as a spy upon Galba.

After the death of Nero, all things went for Galba according to his wish; only the uncertainty what part Virginus Rufus would act, gave him some uneasiness. Virginus commanded a powerful army, which had already conquered Vindex; and he held in subjection a very considerable part of the Roman empire: for he was master not only of Germany but Gaul, which was in great agitation, and ripe for a revolt. Galba, therefore, was apprehensive that he would listen to those who offered him the imperial purple. Indeed, there was not an officer of greater name or reputation than Virginus, nor one who had more weight in the affairs of those times; for he had delivered the empire both from tyranny and a Gallic war. He abode, however, by his first resolution, and reserved the appointment of emperor for the senate. After Nero's death was certainly known, the troops again pressed hard upon Virginus, and one of the tribunes drew his sword in the pavilion, and bade him receive either sovereign power or the steel; but the menace had no effect. At last, after Fabius Valens, who commanded one legion, had taken the oath of fidelity to Galba, and letters arrived from Rome with an account of the senate's decree, he persuaded his army, though with great difficulty, to acknowledge Galba. The new emperor having sent Flaccus Hordeonius as his successor, he received him in that quality, and delivered up his forces to him. He then went to meet Galba, who was on his journey to Rome, and attended him thither, without finding any marks either of his favour or resentment. The reason of this was, that Galba, on the one hand, considered him in too respectable a light to offer him any injury; and, on the other hand, the emperor's friends, particularly Titus Vinius, were jealous of the progress he might make in his favour. But that officer was not aware, that, while he was preventing his promotion, he was co-operating with his good genius, in withdrawing him from the wars and calamities in which other generals were engaged, and bringing him to a life of tranquillity full of days and peace.

The ambassadors, which the senate sent to Galba, met him at Narbon, a city of Gaul. There they made their compliments, and advised him to show himself as soon as possible to the people of Rome, who were very desirous to see him. He gave them a kind reception, and entertained them in an agreeable manner. But though Nymphidius had sent him rich vessels, and other furniture suitable to a great prince, which he had taken out of Nero's palace, he made use of none of it: everything was served up in dishes of his own. This was a circumstance that did him honour, for it showed him a man of superior sentiments, and entirely above

vanity. Titus Vinus, however, soon endeavoured to convince him, that these superior sentiments, this modesty and simplicity of manners, betrayed an ambition for popular applause, which real greatness of mind disdains ; by which argument he prevailed with him to use Nero's riches, and show all the imperial magnificence at his entertainments. Thus the old man made it appear that in time he would be entirely governed by Vinus.

No man had a greater passion for money than Vinus ; nor was any man more addicted to women. While he was yet very young, and making his first campaign under Calvisius Sabinus, he brought the wife of his general, an abandoned prostitute, one night into the camp, in a soldier's habit, and lay with her in that part of it which the Romans call the *Principia*. For this, Caius Cæsar put him in prison ; but he was released upon the death of that prince. Afterwards happening to sup with Claudius Cæsar, he stole a silver cup. The emperor being informed of it invited him the following evening, but ordered the attendants to serve him with nothing but earthen vessels. This moderation of the emperor seemed to show that the theft was deserving only of ridicule, and not serious resentment ; but what he did afterwards, when he had Galba and his revenues at command, served partly as the cause, and partly as the pretence, for many events of the most tragical kind.

Nymphidius, upon the return of Gellianus, whom he had sent as a spy upon Galba, was informed that Cornelius Laco was appointed to the command of the guards and of the palace, and that all the power would be in the hands of Vinus. This distressed him exceedingly, as he had no opportunity to attend the emperor, or speak to him in private ; for his intentions were suspected, and all were on their guard. In this perplexity, he assembled the officers of the prætorian cohorts, and told them, that "Galba was indeed an old man of mild and moderate sentiments ; but that, instead of using his own judgment, he was entirely directed by Vinus and Laco, who made a bad use of their power. It is our business, therefore," continued he, "before they insensibly establish themselves, and become sole masters, as Tigellinus was, to send ambassadors to the emperor in the name of all the troops, and to represent to him, that if he removes those two counsellors from his person, he will find a much more agreeable reception amongst the Romans." Nymphidius perceiving that his officers did not approve the proposal, but thought it absurd and preposterous to dictate the choice of friends to an emperor of his age, as they might have done to a boy who was now first tasting power, he adopted another scheme. In hopes of intimidating Galba, he pretended sometimes, in his letters, that there were discontents and dangers of an insurrection in Rome ; sometimes, that Clodius Macer had laid an embargo in Africa on the corn ships. One while he said, the German legions were in motion, and another while that there was the same rebellious disposition amongst those in Syria and Judæa. But as Galba did not give much attention or credit to his advices, he resolved to usurp the imperial title himself, before he arrived :

though Clodius Celsus, the Antiochian, a sensible man, and one of his best friends, did all in his power to dissuade him ; and told him plainly, he did not believe there was one family in Rome that would give him the title of Cæsar. Many others, however, made a jest of Galba ; and Mithridates of Pontus, in particular, making merry with his bald head and wrinkled face, said, "The Romans think him something extraordinary while he is at a distance, but as soon as he arrives, they will consider it a disgrace to the times to have ever called him Cæsar."

It was resolved, therefore, that Nymphidius should be conducted to the camp at midnight and proclaimed emperor. But Antonius Honoratus, the first tribune, assembled in the evening the troops under his command, and blamed both himself and them for changing so often in so short a time, not in pursuance of the dictates of reason, or for making a better choice, but because some demon pushed them on from one treason to another. "*The crimes of Nero, indeed,*" said he, "*may justify our first measures. But has Galba murdered his own mother, or his wife ? Or has he made you ashamed of your emperor, by appearing as a fiddler or an actor on a stage ?* Yet not even these things brought us to abandon Nero ; but Nymphidius first persuaded us that he had abandoned us, and was fled into Egypt. Shall we then sacrifice Galba after Nero ; and when we have destroyed the relation of Livia, as well as the son of Agrippina, set the son of Nymphidia on the imperial throne ? Or rather, after having taken vengeance on a detestable tyrant in Nero, shall we not show ourselves good and faithful guards to Galba ?"

Upon this speech of the tribune, all his men acceded to the proposal. They applied also to their fellow-soldiers, and prevailed upon most of them to return to their allegiance. At the same time a loud shout was heard in the camp ; and Nymphidius either believing (which is the account that some give us) that the troops were calling him in order to proclaim him emperor, or else hastening to appease the insurrection, and fix such as he found wavering, went with lights to the camp ; having in his hand a speech composed for him by Cingorius Varro, which he had committed to memory, in order to pronounce it to the army. But seeing the gates shut, and a number of men in arms upon the wall, his confidence abated. However, advancing nearer, he asked them, "What they intended to do, and by whose command they were under arms ?" They answered, one and all, "That they acknowledged no other emperor but Galba." Then pretending to enter into their opinion, he applauded their fidelity, and ordered those that accompanied him to follow his example. The guard opening the gate, and suffering him to enter with a few of his people, a javelin was thrown at him, which Septimius, who went before, received upon his shield. But, others drawing their swords, he fled, and was pursued into a soldier's hut, where they despatched him. His body was dragged to the middle of the camp, where they enclosed it with pales, and exposed it to public view the next day.

Nymphidius being thus taken off, Galba was no sooner informed of it than he ordered such of his accomplices as had not already despatched themselves, to be put to death. Amongst these was Cingonius who composed the oration, and Mithridates of Pontus. *In this the emperor did not proceed according to the laws and customs of the Romans; nor was it indeed a popular measure to inflict capital punishment upon persons of eminence, without any form of trial, though they might deserve death.* For the Romans, deceived, as it usually happens, by the first report, now expected another kind of government. But what afflicted them most was the order he sent for the execution of Petronius Turpilianus, a man of consular dignity, merely because he had been faithful to Nero. There was some pretence for taking off Macer in Africa, by means of Trebonianus, and Fonteius in Germany by Valens, because they were in arms, and had forces that he might be afraid of. But there was no reason why Turpilianus, a defenceless old man, should not have a hearing, at least under a prince who should have preserved in his actions the moderation he so much affected.

When he was about 25 furlongs from the city, he found the way stopped by a disorderly parcel of seamen, who gathered about him on all sides.¹ These were persons whom Nero had formed into a legion, that they might act as soldiers. They now met him on the road to have their establishment confirmed, and crowded the emperor so much, that he could neither be seen nor heard by those who came to wait on him; for they insisted, in a clamorous manner, on having legionary colours and quarters assigned them. Galba put them off to another time; but they considered that as a denial; and some of them even drew their swords: upon which he ordered the cavalry to fall upon them. They made no resistance, but fled with the utmost precipitation, and many of them were killed in their flight. It was considered as an inauspicious circumstance for Galba to enter the city amidst so much blood and slaughter. And those who despised him before as weak and inactive through age, now looked upon him as an object of fear and horror.

Besides, while he endeavoured to reform the extravagance and profusion with which money used to be given away by Nero, he missed the mark of propriety. When Canus, a celebrated performer on the flute, played to him one evening at court, after expressing the highest satisfaction at the excellence of his music, he ordered his purse to be brought, and taking out a few pieces of gold,² gave them to Canus, telling him, at the same time, that this was a gratuity out of his own, not the public money. As for the

¹ Dion Cassius tells us, that 7,000 of the disarmed multitude were cut to pieces on the spot; and others were committed to prison, where they lay till the death of Galba. Lib. lxi.

² Suetonius says, Galba gave him five denarii. But at that time there were

denarii of gold. That writer adds, that when his table, upon any extraordinary occasion, was more splendidly served than usual, he could not forbear sighing and expressing his dissatisfaction in a manner inconsistent with common decency.

money which Nero had given to persons that pleased him on the stage, or in the *palastra*, he insisted with great rigour that it should be all returned, except a tenth part. And as persons of such dissolute lives, who mind nothing but provision for the day, could produce very little, he caused inquiry to be made for all who had bought anything from them, or received presents, and obliged them to refund. This affair extending to great numbers of people, and seeming to have no end, it reflected disgrace upon the emperor, and brought the public envy and hatred on Vinius, because he made the emperor sordid and mean to others, while he pillaged the treasury himself in the most insatiable manner, and took and sold whatever he thought proper. In short, as Hesiod says,

Spare not the full sack, nor, when shallow streams
Declare the bottom near, withdraw your hand.¹

So Vinius seeing Galba old and infirm, drank freely of the favours of fortune, as only beginning, and yet, at the same time, drawing to an end.

But the aged emperor was greatly injured by Vinius, not only through his neglect or misapplication of things committed to his trust, but by his condemning or defeating the most salutary intentions of his master. This was the case with respect to punishing Nero's ministers. Some bad ones, it is true, were put to death, amongst whom were Elius, Polycletus, Petinus, and Patrobius. The people expressed their joy by loud plaudits, when these were led through the *forum* to the place of the execution, and called it a glorious and holy procession. But both gods and men, they said, demanded the punishment of Tigellinus, who suggested the very worst measures, and taught Nero all his tyranny. That *worthy* minister, however, had secured himself by great presents to Vinius, which were only earnest of still greater. Turpilianus, though obnoxious only because he had not betrayed or hated his master, on account of his bad qualities, and though guilty of no remarkable crime, was, notwithstanding, put to death; while the man who had made Nero unfit to live, and, after he had made him such, deserted and betrayed him, lived and flourished: a proof that there was nothing which Vinius would not sell, and that no man had reason to despair who had money. For there was no sight which the people of Rome so passionately longed for, as that of Tigellinus carried to execution; and in the theatre and the *circus* they continually demanded it, till at last the emperor checked them by an edict, importing that Tigellinus was in a deep consumption, which would destroy him ere long, and that their sovereign entreated them not to turn his government into a tyranny by needless acts of severity.

The people were highly displeased; but the miscreants only laughed at them. Tigellinus offered sacrifice in acknowledgment

¹ Thus in the court of Galba appeared all the extortions of Nero's reign. They were equally grievous, (says Tacitus) but not equally excused in a prince of Galba's years and experience. He had himself

the greatest integrity of heart; but as the rapacity and other excesses of his ministers were imputed to him, he was no less hated than if he had committed them himself.

to the gods for his recovery, and provided a great entertainment ; and Vinus rose from the emperor's table, to go and carouse with Tigellinus, accompanied by his daughter, who was a widow. Tigellinus drank to her, and said, "I will make this cup worth 250,000 *drachmas* to you." At the same time he ordered his chief mistress to take off her own necklace and give it her. This was said to be worth 150,000 more.

From this time the most moderate of Galba's proceedings were misrepresented.¹ For instance, his lenity to the Gauls, who had conspired with Vindex, did not escape censure. For it was believed that they had not gained a remission of tribute and the freedom of Rome from the emperor's indulgence, but that they purchased them of Vinus. Hence the people had a general aversion to Galba's administration. As for the soldiers, though they did not receive what had been promised them, they let it pass, hoping that, if they had not that gratuity, they should certainly have as much as Nero had given them. But when they began to murmur, and their complaints were brought to Galba, he said, what well became a prince, "*That it was his custom to choose, not to buy his soldiers.*" This saying, however, being reported to the troops, filled them with the most deadly and irremediable hatred to Galba. For it seemed to them that he not only wanted to deprive them of the gratuity himself, but to set a precedent for future emperors.

The disaffection to the government that prevailed in Rome was as yet kept secret in some measure, partly because some remaining reverence for the presence of the emperor prevented the flame of sedition from breaking out, and partly for want of an open occasion to attempt a change. But the troops which had served under Virginius, and were now commanded by Flaccus in Germany, thinking they deserved great things for the battle which they fought with Vindex, and finding that they obtained nothing, began to behave in a very refractory manner, and could not be appeased by their officers. Their general himself they utterly despised, as well on account of his inactivity (for he had the gout in a violent manner) as his want of experience in military affairs. One day, at some public games, when the tribunes and centurions, according to custom, made vows for the happiness of the emperor, the common soldiers murmured ; and when the officers repeated their good wishes, they answered, "If he is worthy."

The legions that were under the command of Tigellinus behaved with equal insolence ; of which Galba's agents wrote him an account. He was now apprehensive, that it was not only his age, but his want of children, that brought him into contempt ; and therefore he formed a design to adopt some young man of noble birth, and declare him his successor. *Marcus Otho was of a*

¹ Though the rest of Galba's conduct was not blameless, yet (according to Suetonius and Zonaras) he kept the soldiers to their duty: he punished with the utmost severity those who, by their false accusations, had occasioned

the death of innocent persons; he delivered up to punishment such slaves as had borne witness against their masters; and he recalled those who had been banished by Nero under pretence of treason.

family by no means obscure; but at the same time, he was more remarkable from his infancy for luxury and love of pleasure than most of the Roman youth. And, as Homer often calls Paris *the husband of the beautiful Helen*, because he had nothing else to distinguish him, so Otho was noted in Rome as the husband of Poppæa. This was the lady whom Nero fell in love with while she was wife to Crispinus; but retaining as yet some respect for his own wife, and some reverence for his mother, he privately employed Otho to solicit her. For Otho's debauchery had recommended him to Nero as a friend and companion, and he had an agreeable way of rallying him upon what he called his avarice and sordid manner of living.

We are told, that one day when Nero was perfuming himself with a very rich essence, he sprinkled a little of it upon Otho. Otho invited the emperor the day following, when suddenly gold and silver pipes opened on all sides of the apartment, and poured out essences for them in as much plenty as if it had been water. He applied to Poppæa, according to Nero's desire, and first seduced her for him, with the flattering idea of having an emperor for a lover; after which he persuaded her to leave her husband. But when he took her home as his own wife, he was not so happy in having her, as miserable in the thought of sharing her with another. And Poppæa is said not to have been displeased with this jealousy; for it seems she refused to admit Nero when Otho was absent: whether it was that she studied to keep Nero's appetite from cloying, or whether (as some say) she did not choose to receive the emperor as a husband, but, in her wanton way, took more pleasure in having him approach her as a gallant. Otho's life, therefore, was in great danger on account of that marriage; and it is astonishing, that the man who could sacrifice his wife and sister for the sake of Poppæa, should afterwards spare Otho.

But Otho had a friend in Seneca; and it was he who persuaded Nero to send him out governor of Lusitania, upon the borders of the ocean. Otho made himself agreeable to the inhabitants by his lenity; for he knew that this command was given him only as a more honourable exile.¹ Upon Galba's revolt, he was the first governor of a province that came over to him, and he carried with him all the gold and silver vessels he had, to be melted down and coined for his use. He likewise presented him with such of his servants as knew best how to wait upon an emperor. He behaved to him, indeed, in all respects with great fidelity; and it appeared from the specimen he gave, that there was no department in the government for which he had not talents. He accompanied him in his whole journey, and was many days in the same carriage with him; during all which time he lost no opportunity to pay his court to Vinius, either by assiduities or presents; and as he always took care to leave him the first place, he was secure by his means of

¹ On this occasion the following distich was made:

Cur Otho mentito sit queritis exul honore
Uxoris machus cooperat esse sua.

having the second. Besides that there was nothing invidious in this station, he recommended himself by granting his favours and services without reward, and by his general affability and politeness. He took most pleasure in serving the officers of the army, and obtained governments for many of them, partly by applications to the emperor, and partly to Vinus and his freedmen, Icelus and Asiaticus, for these had the chief influence at court.

Whenever Galba visited him, he complimented the company of guards that was upon duty with a piece of gold for each man ; thus practising upon and gaining the soldiers, while he seemed only to be doing honour to their master. When Galba was deliberating on the choice of a successor, Vinus proposed Otho. Nor was this a disinterested overture, for Otho had promised to marry Vinus's daughter, after Galba had adopted him, and appointed him his successor. But Galba always showed that he preferred the good of the public to any private considerations : and in this case he sought not for the man who might be most agreeable to himself, but one who promised to be the greatest blessing to the Romans. Indeed it can hardly be supposed that he would have appointed Otho heir even to his private patrimony, when he knew how expensive and profuse he was, and that he was loaded with a debt of five millions of drachmas. He therefore gave Vinus a patient hearing, without returning him any answer, and put off the affair to another time. However as he declared himself consul, and chose Vinus for his colleague, it was supposed that he would appoint a successor at the beginning of the next year, and the soldiers wished that Otho might be the man.

But while Galba delayed the appointment, and continued deliberating, the army mutinied in Germany. *All the troops throughout the empire hated Galba, because they had not received the promised donations,* but those in Germany had a particular apology for their aversion. They alleged, " That Virginius Rufus, their general, had been removed with ignominy, and that the Gauls, who had fought against them, were the only people that were rewarded ; whilst all who had not joined Vindex were punished, and Galba, as if he had obligations to none but him for the imperial diadem, honoured his memory with sacrifices and public libations."

Such speeches as this were common in the camp, when the calends of January were at hand, and Flaccus assembled the soldiers, that they might take the customary oath of fealty to the emperor. But, instead of that, they overturned and broke to pieces the statues of Galba, and having taken an oath of allegiance to the senate and people of Rome, they retired to their tents. Their officers were now as apprehensive of anarchy as rebellion, and the following speech is said to have been made on the occasion : " What are we doing, my fellow-soldiers ? We neither appoint another emperor, nor keep our allegiance to the present, as if we had renounced not only Galba, but every other sovereign, and all manner of obedience. It is true, Hardeonius Flaccus is no more than the shadow of Galba. Let us quit him. But at the distance of one day's march only,

there is Vitellius, who commands in the Lower Germany, whose father was censor and thrice consul, and in a manner colleague to the emperor Claudius. And though his poverty may be a circumstance for which some people may despise him, it is a strong proof of his probity and greatness of mind. Let us go and declare him emperor, and show the world that we know how to choose a person for that high dignity better than the Spaniards and Lusitanians."

Some approved and others rejected this motion. One of the standard-bearers, however, marched off privately and carried the news to Vitellius that night. He found him at table, for he was giving a great entertainment to his officers. The news soon spread through the army, and Fabius Valens who commanded one of the legions, went next day at the head of a considerable party of horse, and saluted Vitellius emperor. For some days before, he seemed to dread the weight of sovereign power, and totally to decline it: but now, being *fortified with the indulgences of the table, to which he had sat down at mid-day*, he went out and accepted the title of Germanicus, which the army conferred upon him though he refused that of Cæsar. Soon after Flaccus's troops forgot the republican oaths they had taken to the senate and people, and swore allegiance to Vitellius. Thus Vitellius was proclaimed emperor in Germany.

As soon as Galba was informed of the insurrection there, he resolved, without further delay, to proceed to the adoption. He knew some of his friends were for Dolabella, and a still greater number for Otho; but, without being guided by the judgment of either party, or making the least mention of his design, he sent suddenly for Piso the son of Crassus and Scribonia, who were put to death by Nero; a young man formed by nature for every virtue and distinguished for his modesty and sobriety of manners. In pursuance of his intentions, he went down with him to the camp, to give him the title of Cæsar, and declare him his successor. But he was no sooner out of his palace, than *very inauspicious presages appeared*. And in the camp when he delivered a speech to the army, reading some parts and pronouncing others from memory, *the many claps of thunder and flashes of lightning, the violent rain that fell, and the darkness that covered both the camp and the city, plainly announced that the gods did not admit of the adoption*, and that the issue would be unfortunate. The countenances of the soldiers too were black and lowering, because there was no donation even on that occasion.¹

As to Piso, all that were present could not but wonder, that so far as they could conjecture from his voice and look, he was not disconcerted with so great an honour, though he did not receive it without sensibility.² On the contrary, in Otho's countenance there appeared strong marks of resentment, and of the impatience

¹ Tacitus tells us that a little exertion of liberality would have gained the army, and that Galba suffered by an unreason-

able attention to the purity of ancient times.

² See an excellent speech which Tacitus ascribes to Galba on this occasion.

with which he bore the disappointment of his hopes. For his failing of that honour which he had been thought worthy to aspire to, and which he lately believed himself very near attaining, seemed a proof of Galba's hatred and ill-intentions to him. He was not, therefore, without apprehensions of what might befall him afterwards; and dreading Galba, execrating Piso, and full of indignation against Vinus, he retired with this confusion of passions in his heart. But the Chaldeans and other diviners, whom he had always about him, would not suffer him entirely to give up his hopes, or abandon his design. In particular he relied on Ptolemy, because he had formerly predicted that he should not fall by the hand of Nero, but survive him, and live to ascend the imperial throne. For, as the former part of the prophecy proved true, he thought he had no reason to despair of the latter. None, however, exasperated him more against Galba than those who condoled with him in private, and pretended that he had been treated with great ingratitude. Besides, there was a number of people, that had flourished under Tigellinus and Nymphidius, and now lived in poverty and disgrace, who, to recommend themselves to Otho, expressed great indignation at the slight he had suffered, and urged him to revenge it. Amongst these were Veturius, who was *optio*, or centurion's deputy, and Barbius, who was *tesserarius*, or one of those that carry the word from the tribunes to the centurions.¹ Onomastus, one of Otho's freedmen, joined them, and went from troop to troop, corrupting some with money, and others with promises. Indeed, they were corrupt enough already, and wanted only an opportunity to put their designs in execution. If they had not been extremely disaffected, they could not have been prepared for a revolt in so short a space of time as that of four days, which was all that passed between the adoption and the assassination; for Piso and Galba were both slain the sixth day after, which was the fifteenth of January. Early in the morning Galba sacrificed in the palace in presence of his friends. Umbricius, the diviner, no sooner took the entrails in his hands than he declared, not in enigmatical expressions, but plainly, that there were signs of great troubles and of treason that threatened immediate danger to the emperor. Thus Otho was almost delivered up to Galba by the hand of the gods; for he stood behind the emperor, listening with great attention to the observations made by Umbricius. These put him in great confusion, his fears were discovered by his change of colour, when his freedman Onomastus came and told him that the architects were come, and waited for him at his house. This was the signal for Otho's meeting the soldiers. He pretended, therefore, that he had bought an old house, which these architects were to examine, and going down by what is called Tiberius's palace, *went to that part of the forum*

¹ The way of setting the nightly guard was by a *tesera*, or tally, with a particular inscription, given from one

centurion to another, quite through the army till it came again to the tribune who first delivered it.

*where stands the gilded pillar which terminates all the great roads in Italy.*¹

The soldiers who received him, and saluted him emperor, are said not to have been more than twenty-three. So that, though he had nothing of that dastardly spirit which the delicacy of his constitution and the effeminacy of his life seemed to declare; but, on the contrary, was firm and resolute in time of danger; yet, on this occasion, he was intimidated and wanted to retire. But the soldiers would not suffer it. They surrounded the chair² with drawn swords, and insisted on his proceeding to the camp. Meantime Otho desired the bearers to make haste, often declaring that he was a lost man. There were some who overheard him, and they rather wondered at the hardness of the attempt with so small a party than disturbed themselves about the consequences. As he was carried through the forum, about the same number as the first joined him, and others afterward by three or four at a time. The whole party then saluted him Cæsar, and conducted him to the camp, flourishing their swords before him. Martialis, the tribune, who kept guard that day, knowing nothing (as they tell us) of the conspiracy, was surprised and terrified at so unexpected a sight, and suffered them to enter. When Otho was within the camp, he met with no resistance, for the conspirators gathered about such as were strangers to the design, and made it their business to explain it to them; upon which they joined them by one or two at a time, first out of fear, and afterwards out of choice.

The news was immediately carried to Galba, while the diviner yet attended, and had the entrails in his hands; so that they who had been most incredulous in matters of divination, and even held it in contempt before, were astonished at the divine interposition in the accomplishment of this presage. People of all sorts now crowding from the forum to the palace, Vinus and Laco, with some of the emperor's freedmen, stood before him with drawn swords to defend him. Piso went out to speak to the life-guards, and Marius Celsus, a man of great courage and honour, was sent to secure the Illyrian legion, which lay in Vipsanius's portico.

Galba was inclined to go out to the people. Vinus endeavoured to dissuade him from it; but Celsus and Laco encouraged him to go on, and expressed themselves with some sharpness against Vinus. Meantime a strong report prevailed that Otho was slain in the camp; soon after which Julius Atticus, a soldier of some note amongst the guards, came up, and crying that he was the man that had killed Cæsar's enemy, made his way through the crowd, and showed his bloody sword to Galba. The emperor, fixing his eye upon him, said, "Who gave you orders?" He answered, "My allegiance and the oath I had taken;" and the people expressed

¹ This pillar was set up by Augustus, when he took the highways under his inspection, and had the distances of places from Rome marked upon it.

² Suetonius says, he got into a woman's sedan, in order to be the better concealed.

their approbation in loud plaudits. Galba then went out in a sedan chair, with a design to sacrifice to Jupiter, and show himself to the people. But he no sooner entered the forum than the rumour changed like the wind, and news met him, that Otho was master of the camp. On this occasion, as it was natural amongst a multitude of people, some called out to him to advance, and some to retire; some to take courage, and some to be cautious. His chair was tossed backward and forward, as in a tempest, and ready to be overset, when there appeared first a party of horse, and then another of foot, issuing from the *Basilica* of Paulus, and crying out, "Away with this private man!" Numbers were then running about, not to separate by flight, but to possess themselves of the porticos and eminences about the forum, as it were to enjoy some public spectacle. Atilius Virgilio beat down one of Galba's statues, which served as a signal for hostilities, and they attacked the chair on all sides with javelins. As those did not despatch him, they advanced sword in hand. In this time of trial none stood up in his defence but one man, who, indeed, amongst so many millions, was the only one that did honour to the Roman empire. This was Sempronius Densus,¹ a centurion, who without any particular obligations to Galba, and only from a regard to honour and the law, stood forth to defend the chair. First of all he lifted up the vine-branch, with which the centurions chastise such as deserve stripes, and then called out to the soldiers who were pressing on, and commanded them to spare the emperor. They fell upon him, notwithstanding, and he drew his sword and fought a long time, till he received a stroke in the ham, which brought him to the ground.

The chair was overturned at what is called the Curtian lake, and Galba tumbling out of it, they ran to despatch him. At the same time he presented his throat, and said, "Strike, if it be for the good of Rome." He received many strokes upon his arms and legs, for he had a coat of mail upon his body. According to most accounts, it was Camurius, a soldier of the fifteenth legion, that despatched him, though some say it was Terentius, some Arcadius,² and others Fabius Fabulus. They add that when Fabius had cut off his head, he wrapped it up in the skirt of his garment, because it was so bald that he could take no hold of it. His associates, however, would not suffer him to conceal it, but insisted that he should let the world see what an exploit he had performed; he therefore fixed it upon the point of his spear, and swinging about the head of a venerable old man, and a mild prince, who was both *Pontifex Maximus* and consul, he ran on (like the Bacchanals with the head of Pentheus), brandishing his spear that was dyed with the blood that had trickled from it.

When the head was presented to Otho, he cried out, "This is nothing, my fellow soldiers; show me the head of Piso." It was

¹ In the Greek text it is *Inditrus*; but that text in the life of Galba is extremely corrupt. We have therefore given

Densus from Tacitus; as Virgilio instead of *Sorcello* above.

² In Tacitus, *L. caninus*. That historian makes no mention of Fabius

brought not long after ; for that young prince being wounded, and pursued by one Marcus, was killed by him at the gates of the temple of Vesta. Vinus also was put to the sword, though he declared himself an accomplice in the conspiracy, and protested that it was against Otho's orders that he suffered. However, they cut off his head, and that of Laco, and carrying them to Otho, demanded their reward : For, as Archilochus says :

We bring seven warriors only to your tent,
Yet thousands of us kill'd them.

So in this case many who had no share in the action, bathed their hands and swords in the blood, and showing them to Otho, petitioned for their reward. It appeared afterwards, from the petitions given in, that the number of them was 120 ; and Vitellius, having searched them out, put them all to death. Marius Celsus also coming to the camp, many accused him of having exhorted the soldiers to stand by Galba, and the bulk of the army insisted that he should suffer. But Otho being desirous to save him, and yet afraid of contradicting them, told them, "He did not choose to have him executed so soon, because he had several important questions to put to him." He ordered him, therefore, to be kept in chains, and delivered him to persons in whom he could best confide.

The senate was immediately assembled ; and, as if they were become different men, or had other gods to swear by, they took the oath to Otho, which he had before taken to Galba, but had not kept ; and they gave him the titles of Caesar and Augustus, while the bodies of those that had been beheaded lay in their consular robes in the *forum*. As for the heads, the soldiers, after they had no farther use for them, sold that of Vinus to his daughter for 2,500 *drachmas*. Piso's was given to his wife Verania, at her request ;¹ and Galba's to the servants of Patrobius and Vitellius,² who, after they had treated it with the utmost insolence and outrage, threw it into a place called *Sestertium*,³ where the bodies of those are cast that are put to death by the emperors. Galba's corpse was carried away by Helvidius Priscus, with Otho's permission, and buried in the night by his freedman Argilus.

Such is the history of Galba ; a man who, in the points of family and fortune distinctly considered, was exceeded by few of the Romans, and who, in the union of both was superior to all. He had lived, too, in great honour, and with the best reputation, under five emperors ; and it was rather by his character than by force of arms that he deposed Nero. As to the rest, who conspired against the tyrant, some of them were thought unworthy of the imperial diadem by the people, and others thought themselves unworthy. But Galba was invited to accept it, and only followed the sense of

¹ Tacitus (lib. I.) says she purchased it.

² Galba had put Patrobius to death ; but we know not why the servants of Vitellius should desire to treat Galba's remains with any indignity.

³ Lipsius says, it was so called *quæstæ semitæ* of us, as being two miles and a half from the city.

those who called him to that high dignity. Nay, when he gave the sanction of his name to Vindex, that which before was called rebellion was considered only as a civil war, because a man of princely talents was then at the head of it. So that he did not so much want the empire as the empire wanted him : and with these principles he attempted to govern a people corrupted by Tigellinus and Nymphidius, as Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus governed the Romans of their times. Notwithstanding his great age, he showed himself a chief worthy of ancient Rome, through all the military department ; but, in the civil administration, he delivered himself up to Vinus, to Laco, and to his enfranchised slaves, who sold everything in the same manner as Nero had left all to his insatiable vermin. The consequence of this was, that no man regretted him as an emperor, though almost all were moved with pity at his miserable fate.

OTHO.

THE new emperor went early in the morning to the Capitol, and sacrificed ; after which he ordered Marius Celsus to be brought before him. He received that officer with great marks of his regard, and desired him rather to forget the cause of his confinement than to remember his release. Celsus neither showed any meanness in his acknowledgments, nor any want of gratitude. He said, "The very charge brought against him bore witness to his character ; since he was accused only of having been faithful to Galba, from whom he had never received any personal obligations." All who were present at the audience admired both the emperor and Celsus, and the soldiers in particular testified their approbation.¹

Otho made a mild and gracious speech to the senate. The remaining time of his consulship he divided with Virginius Rufus, and he left those who had been appointed to that dignity by Nero and Galba, to enjoy it in their course. *Such as were respectable for their age and character, he promoted to the priesthood :* and to those senators who had been banished by Nero, and recalled by Galba, he restored all their goods and estates that he found unsold. So that the first and best of the citizens, who had before not considered him as a man, but dreaded him as a fury or destroying demon that had suddenly seized the seat of government, now entertained more pleasing hopes from so promising a beginning.

¹ Otho exempted the soldiers from the taxes which they had paid the centurions for furloughs and other immunities ; but at the same time promised to satisfy the centurions, on all reasonable occasions,

out of his own revenue. In consequence of these furloughs, the fourth part of a legion was often absent, and the troops became daily more and more corrupted.

But nothing gave the people in general so high a pleasure¹ or contributed so much to gain him their affections, as his punishing Tigellinus. It is true, he had long suffered under the fear of punishment, which the Romans demanded as a public debt, and under a complication of incurable distempers. These, together with his infamous connections with the worst of prostitutes, into which his passions drew him, though almost in the arms of death, were considered by the thinking part of mankind as the greatest of punishments, and worse than many deaths. Yet it was a pain to the common people, that he should see the light of the sun, after so many excellent men had been deprived of it through his means. He was then at his country house near Sinuessa, and had vessels at anchor, ready to carry him on occasion to some distant country. Otho sent to him there; and he first attempted to bribe the messenger with large sums to suffer him to escape. When he found that did not take effect, he gave him the money notwithstanding; and desiring only to be indulged a few moments till he had shaved himself he took the razor and cut his own throat.

Besides this just satisfaction that Otho gave the people, it was a most agreeable circumstance that he remembered none of his private quarrels. To gratify the populace, he suffered them also at first to give him in the theatres the name of Nero, and he made no opposition to those who erected publicly the statues of that emperor. Nay, Claudius² Rufus tells us that, in the letters with which the couriers were sent to Spain, he joined the name of Nero to that of Otho. But perceiving that the nobility were offended, he made use of it no more.

After his government was thus established, the prætorian cohorts gave him no small trouble, by exhorting him to beware of many persons of rank, and to forbid them the court; whether it was their affection made them really apprehensive for him, or whether it was only a colour for raising commotions and wars. One day the emperor himself had sent Crispinus orders to bring the seventeenth cohort from Ostia, and in order to do it without interruption, that officer began to prepare for it as soon as it grew dark, and to pack up the arms in waggons. Upon which, some of the most turbulent cried out, that Crispinus was come with no good intention, that the senate had some design against the government, and that the arms he was going to carry were to be made use of against Cæsar, not for him. This notion soon spread, and exasperated numbers: some laid hold on the waggons, while others killed two centurions who endeavoured to quell the mutiny, and Crispinus himself. Then the whole party armed, and exhorting each other to go to the emperor's assistance, they marched straight to Rome. Being informed there that eighty senators supped with him that evening, they hastened to the palace, saying, Then was the time to crush

¹ In the close of the day on which he was inaugurated, he put Læon and Iccius to death.

² This writer, who was a man of com-

mon dignity and succeeded Galba in the government of Spain was not called Claudius but Claudius Rufus.

all Caesar's enemies at once. The city was greatly alarmed, expecting to be plundered immediately. The palace, too, was in the utmost confusion, and Otho himself in unspeakable distress. For he was under fear and concern for the senators, while they were afraid of him; and he saw they kept their eyes fixed upon him in silence and extreme consternation; *some having even brought their wives with them to supper.* He therefore ordered the principal officers of the guards to go and speak to the soldiers and endeavour to appease them, and at the same time sent out his guests at another door. They had scarce made their escape when the soldiers rushed into the room, and asked what was become of the enemies of Caesar. The emperor then, rising from his couch, used many arguments to satisfy them, and by entreaties and tears at last prevailed upon them with much difficulty to desist.

Next day, having presented the soldiers with 1,250 drachmas a man, he entered the camp. On this occasion he commended the troops as in general well affected to his government; but at the same time he told them there were some designing men amongst them, who by their cabals brought his moderation and their fidelity both into question: these, he said, deserved their resentment, and he hoped they would assist him in punishing them. They applauded his speech, and desired him to chastise whatever persons he thought proper; but he pitched upon two only for capital punishment, whom no man could possibly regret, and then returned to his palace.

Those who had conceived an affection for Otho, and placed a confidence in him, admired this change in his conduct. But others thought it was no more than a piece of policy which the times necessarily required, and that he assumed a popular behaviour on account of the impending war. For now he had undoubted intelligence that Vitellius had taken the title of emperor and all the ensigns of supreme power, and couriers daily arrived with news of continual additions to his party. Other messengers also arrived, with accounts that the forces in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, with their generals, had declared for Otho. And a few days after, he received obliging letters from Mucianus and *Vespasian*, who both commanded numerous armies, the one in Syria, and the other in Judea.

Elated with this intelligence, he wrote to Vitellius, advising him not to aspire to things above his rank, and promised, in case he desisted, to supply him liberally with money, and gave him a city in which he might spend his days in pleasure and repose. Vitellius at first gave him an answer, in which ridicule was tempered with civility. But afterwards, being both thoroughly exasperated, they wrote to each other in a style of the bitterest invective. Not that their mutual reproaches were groundless, but it was absurd for the one to insult the other with what might with equal justice be objected to both. For their charges consisted of prodigality, effeminacy, incapacity for war, their former poverty and immense debts: such articles that it is hard to say which of them had the advantage

As to the stories of prodigies and apparitions at that time, many of them were founded upon vague reports that could not be traced to their author. But in the capitol there was a Victory mounted upon a chariot, and numbers of people saw her let the reins fall out of her hands, as if she had lost the power to hold them. And in the island of the Tiber, the statue of Julius Cæsar turned from west to east, without either earthquake or whirlwind to move it. A circumstance which is said likewise to have happened when Vespasian openly took upon him the direction of affairs. The inundation of the Tiber, too, was considered by the populace as a bad omen. It was at a time, indeed, when rivers usually overflow their banks; but the flood never rose so high before, nor was so ruinous in its effects; for now it laid great part of the city under water, particularly the corn market, and caused a famine which continued for some days.

About this time news was brought that Cecina and Valens, who acted for Vitellius, had seized the passes of the Alps. And in Rome Dolabella who was of an illustrious family, was suspected by the guards of some disloyal design. Otho, either fearing him, or some other whom he could influence, sent him to Aquinum, with assurances of friendly treatment. When the emperor came to select the officers that were to attend him on his march, he appointed Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, to be of the number, without either promoting or lowering him in point of rank. He took also particular care of the mother and wife of Vitellius, and endeavoured to put them in a situation where they had nothing to fear. The government of Rome he gave to Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian; either with an intention to do honour to Nero (for he had formerly given him that appointment, and Galba had deprived him of it,) or else to show his affection to Vespasian by promoting his brother.

Otho himself stopped at Brixillum, a town in Italy near the Po, and ordered the army to march on under the conduct of his lieutenants, Marius Celsus, Suetonius Paulinus, Gallus and Spurina, officers of great reputation. But they could not pursue the plan of operations they had formed, by reason of the obstinacy and disorderly behaviour of the soldiers, who declared that *they* had made the emperor, and they would be commanded by him only. The enemy's troops were not under much better discipline; they, too, were refractory and disobedient to their officers, and on the same account. Yet they had seen service, and were accustomed to fatigue; whereas Otho's men had been used to idleness, and their manner of living was quite different from that in the field. Indeed, they had spent most of their time at public spectacles, and the entertainments of the theatre, and were come to that degree of insolence that they did not pretend to be unable to perform the services they were ordered upon, but affected to be above them. Spurina, who attempted to use compulsion, was in danger of being killed by them. They spared no manner of abuse, calling him traitor, and telling him that it was he who ruined the affairs of

Cæsar, and purposely missed the fairest opportunities. Some of them came in the night intoxicated with liquor to his tent, and demanded their discharge. "For they had to go," they said, "to Cæsar to accuse him."

The cause, however, and Spurina with it, received some benefit from the insult which these troops met with at Placentia. Those of Vitellius came up to the walls, and ridiculed Otho's men who were appointed to defend them; calling them players and dancers, fit only to attend the Pythian and Olympic games; fellows who knew nothing of war, who had not even made one campaign, who were swollen up with pride merely because they had cut off the head of a poor unarmed old man (meaning Galba); wretches that durst not look men in the face, or stand anything like a fair and open battle. They were so cut with these reproaches, and so desirous of revenge, that they threw themselves at Spurina's feet, and begged of him to command and employ them on whatever service he thought proper, assuring him that there was neither danger nor labour which they would decline. After this, the enemy made a vigorous attack upon the town, and plied their battering engines with all their force; but Spurina's men repulsed them with great slaughter, and by that means kept possession of one of the most respectable and most flourishing towns in Italy.

It must be observed of Otho's officers in general, that they were more obliging in their behaviour both to cities and private persons than those of Vitellius. Cecina, one of the latter, had nothing popular either in his address or his figure. He was of a gigantic size and most uncouth appearance; for *he wore breeches and long sleeves in the manner of the Gauls*, even while his standard was Roman, and whilst he gave his instructions to Roman officers. His wife followed him on horseback, in a rich dress, and was attended by a select party of cavalry. Fabius Valens, the other general, had a passion for money, which was not to be satisfied by any plunder from the enemy, or exactions and contributions from the allies. Insomuch that he was believed to proceed more slowly for the sake of collecting gold as he went, and therefore was not up at the first action. Some, indeed, accuse Cecina of hastening to give battle before the arrival of Valens, in order that the victory might be all his own; and, besides other less faults, they charged him not only with attacking at an unseasonable time, but with not maintaining the combat so gallantly as he ought to have done; all which errors nearly ruined the affairs of his party.

Cecina, after his repulse at Placentia, marched against Cremona, another rich and great city. In the meantime Annius Gallus, who was going to join Spurina at Placentia, had intelligence by the way that he was victorious, and that the siege was raised. But being informed at the same time that Cremona was in danger he led his forces thither, and encamped very near the enemy. Afterwards other officers brought in reinforcements. Cecina posted a strong body of infantry under cover of some trees and thickets; after which, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and if the enemy

attacked them, to give way by degrees, and retire, till they had drawn them into the ambuscade. But Celsus being informed of his intention by some deserters, advanced with his best cavalry against Cecina's troops; and, upon their retreating, he pursued with so much caution that he surrounded the corps that lay in ambush. Having thus put them in confusion, he called the legions from the camp: and it appears, that if they had come up in time to support the horse, Cecina's whole army would have been cut in pieces. But, as Paulinus advanced very slowly,¹ he was censured for having used more precaution than became a general of his character. Nay, the soldiers accused him of treachery, and endeavoured to incense Otho against him, insisting that the victory was in their hands, and that if it was not complete, it was owing entirely to the mismanagement of their generals. Otho did not so much believe these representations, as he was willing to appear not to disbelieve them. He therefore sent his brother Titianus to the army, with Proculus the captain of his guard; Titianus had the command in appearance, and Proculus in reality. Celsus and Paulinus had the title of friends and counsellors, but not the least authority in the direction of affairs.

The enemy, too, were not without their dissatisfactions and disorder, particularly amongst the forces of Valens. For when they were informed of what happened at the ambuscade, they expressed their indignation that their general did not put it in their power to be there, that they might have used their endeavours to save so many brave men who perished in that action. They were even inclined to despatch him; but having pacified them with much difficulty, he decamped and joined Cecina.

In the meantime Otho came to the camp at Bedriacum, a small town near Cremona, and there held a council of war. Proculus and Titianus were of opinion, "That he ought to give battle, while the army retained those high spirits with which the late victory had inspired them, and not suffer that ardour to cool, nor wait till Vitellius came in person from Gaul." But Paulinus was against it. "The enemy," said he, "have received all their troops, and have no further preparations to make for the combat; whereas Otho will have from Mysia and Pannonia forces as numerous as those he has already, if he will wait his own opportunity, instead of giving one to the enemy. And certainly the army he now has, if with their small numbers they have so much ardour, will not fight with less but greater spirit when they see their numbers so much increased. Besides, the gaining of time makes for us, because we have everything in abundance, but delays must greatly distress Cecina and his colleague for necessaries, because they lie in an enemy's country."

¹ Tacitus tells us, that Paulinus was naturally slow and irresolute. On this occasion he charges him with two errors. The first was, that, instead of advancing immediately to the charge, and supporting

his cavalry, he trifled away the time in filling up the trenches; the second, that he did not avail himself of the disorder of the enemy but "waited much too early a retreat."

Marius Celsus supported the opinion of Paulinus. Annins Gallus could not attend, because he had received some hurt by a fall from his horse, and was under cure. Otho therefore wrote to him, and Gallus advised him not to precipitate matters, but to wait for the army from Mysia, which was already on the way. Otho, however, would not be guided by these counsels, and the opinion of those prevailed who were for hazarding a battle immediately. Different reasons are, indeed, alleged for this resolution. The most probable is, that the prætorian cohorts, which composed the emperor's guards, now coming to taste what real war was, longed to be once more at a distance from it, to return to the ease, the company, and public diversions of Rome; and therefore they could not be restrained in their eagerness for a battle, for they imagined that they could overpower the enemy at the first charge. Besides, Otho seems to have been no longer able to support himself in a state of suspense; such an aversion to the thoughts of danger had his dissipation and effeminacy given him! Overburdened then by his cares, he hastened to free himself from their weight; he covered his eyes, and leaped down the precipice; he committed all at once to fortune. Such is the account given of the matter by the orator Secundus, who was Otho's secretary.

Others say, that the two parties were much inclined to lay down their arms, and unite in choosing an emperor out of the best generals they had; or, if they could not agree upon it, to leave the election to the senate. Nor is it improbable, as the two who were called emperors were neither of them men of reputation, that the experienced and prudent part of the soldiers should form such a design; for they could not but reflect how unhappy and dreadful a thing it would be to plunge themselves into the same calamities, which the Romans could not bring upon each other without aching hearts, in the quarrels of Sylla and Marius, of Cæsar and Pompey: and for what but *to provide an empire to minister to the insatiable appetite and the drunkenness of Vitellius, or to the luxury and debaucheries of Otho?* These considerations are supposed to have induced Celsus to endeavour to gain time, in hopes that matters might be compromised without the sword; while Otho, out of fear of such an agreement, hastened the battle.

In the meantime he returned to Brixillum,¹ which certainly was an additional error; for by that step he deprived the combatants of the reverence and emulation which his presence might have inspired, and took a considerable limb from the body of the army, I mean some of the best and most active men, both horse and foot, for his body-guard. There happened about that time a rencontre upon the Po, while Cecina's troops endeavoured to lay a bridge over that river, and Otho's to prevent it. The latter finding their efforts ineffectual, put a quantity of torches well covered with

¹ It was debated in council, whether the emperor should be present in the action, or not. Marius Celsus and Paulinus durst not vote for it, lest they

should seem inclined to expose his person. He therefore retired to Frixillum, which was a circumstance that contributed not a little to his ruin.

brimstone and pitch into some boats, which were carried by the wind and current upon the enemy's work. First smoke, and afterwards a bright flame arose; upon which Cecina's men were so terrified that they leaped into the river, overset their boats, and were entirely exposed to their enemies, who laughed at their awkward distress.

The German troops, however, beat Otho's gladiators in a little island of the Po, and killed a considerable number of them. Otho's army that was in Bedriacum, resenting this affront, insisted on being led out to battle. Accordingly Proculus marched, and pitched his camp at the distance of 50 furlongs from Bedriacum. But he chose his ground in a very unskilful manner: for, though it was in the spring season, and the country afforded many springs and rivulets, his army was distressed for water. Next day, Proculus was for marching against the enemy, who lay not less than 100 furlongs off: but Paulinus would not agree to it. He said, they ought to keep the post they had taken, rather than fatigue themselves first, and then immediately engage an enemy, who could arm and put themselves in order of battle at their leisure, while they were making such a march with all the encumbrance of baggage and servants. The generals disputed the point, till a Numidian horseman came with letters from Otho, ordering them to make no longer delay, but proceed to the attack without losing a moment's time. They then decamped of course, and went to seek the enemy. The news of their approach threw Cecina into great confusion; and immediately quitting his works and post upon the river, he repaired to the camp, where he found most of the soldiers armed, and the word already given by Valens.

During the time that the infantry were forming, the best of the cavalry were directed to skirmish. At that moment a report was spread, from what cause we cannot tell, amongst Otho's van, that Vitellius's officers were coming over to their party. As soon, therefore, as they approached, they saluted them in a friendly manner, calling them their fellow soldiers. But instead of receiving the appellation, they answered with a furious and hostile shout. The consequence was, that the persons who made the compliment were dispirited, and the rest suspected them of treason. This was the first thing that disconcerted Otho's troops, for by this time the enemy had charged. Besides, they could preserve no order; the intermixture of the baggage, and the nature of the ground, preventing any regular movement. For the ground was so full of ditches and other inequalities, that they were forced to break their ranks and wheel about to avoid them, and could only fight in small parties. There were but two legions, one of Vitellius's called *the devourer*, and one of Otho's called *the succourer*, which could disentangle themselves from the defiles and gain the open plain. These engaged in a regular battle, and fought a long time. Otho's men were vigorous and brave, but they had not seen so much as one action before this; on the other hand, those of Vitellius had much experience in the field, but they were old, and their strength decaying

Otho's legion coming on with great fury, mowed down the first ranks, and took the eagle. The enemy, filled with shame and resentment, advanced to chastise them, slew Orphidius, who commanded the legion, and took several standards. Amongst the gladiators, who had the reputation of being brave fellows, and excellent at close fighting, *Alphenus Varus brought up the Batavians, who came from an island formed by the Rhine, and are the best cavalry in Germany.* A few of the gladiators made head against them, but the greatest part fled to the river, and falling in with some of the enemy's infantry that was posted there, were all cut in pieces. But none behaved so ill that day as the prætorian bands. They did not even wait to receive the enemy's charge, and in their flight they broke through the troops that as yet stood their ground, and put them in disorder. Nevertheless, many of Otho's men were irresistible in the quarter where they fought, and opened a way through the victorious enemy to their camp. But Proculus and Paulinus took another way; for they dreaded the soldiers, who already blamed their generals for the loss of the day.

Annius Gallus received into the city all the scattered parties, and endeavoured to encourage them by assurances that the advantage upon the whole was equal, and that their troops had the superiority in many parts of the field. But Marius Celsus assembled the principal officers, and desired them to consider of measures that might save their country. "After such an expense of Roman blood," said he, "Otho himself, if he has a patriotic principle, would not tempt fortune any more; since Cato and Scipio, in refusing to submit to Cæsar after the battle of Pharsalia, are accused of having unnecessarily sacrificed the lives of so many brave men in Africa, notwithstanding that they fought for the liberties of their country. Fortune, indeed, is capricious, and all men are liable to suffer by her inconstancy, yet good men have one advantage which she cannot deprive them of, and that is, to avail themselves of their reason in whatever may befall them." These arguments prevailed with the officers, and on sounding the private men they found them desirous of peace. Titianus himself was of opinion that they ought to send ambassadors to treat for a coalition. In pursuance of which, Celsus and Gallus were charged with a commission to Cecina and Valens. As they were upon the road, they met some centurions, who informed them that Vitellius's army was advancing to Bedriacum, and that they were sent before by their generals with proposals for an accommodation. Celsus and Gallus commended their design, and desired them to go back with them to meet Cecina.

When they approached that general's army, Celsus was in great danger; for the cavalry that were beaten in the affair of the ambuscade, happened to be in the van, and they no sooner saw Celsus, than they advanced with loud shouts against him. The centurions, however, put themselves before him, and the other officers called out to them to do him no violence. Cecina himself, when he was informed of the tumult, rode up and quelled it, and after

he had made his compliments to Celsus in a very obliging manner, accompanied him to Bedriacum.

In the meantime, Titianus repenting that he had sent the ambassadors, placed the most resolute of the soldiers again upon the walls, and exhorted the rest to be assisting. But when Cecina rode up and offered his hand, not a man of them could resist him. Some saluted his men from the walls, and others opened the gates ; after which they went out and mixed with the troops that were coming up. Instead of acts of hostility, there was nothing but mutual caresses and other demonstrations of friendship ; in consequence of which, they all took the oath to Vitellius, and ranged themselves under his banner.

This is the account which most of those that were in the battle give of it ; but at the same time they confess that they did not know all the particulars, because of the confused manner in which they fought, and the inequality of the ground. Long after, when I was passing over the field of battle, Mestrius Florus, a person of consular dignity, showed me an old man, who in his youth had served under Otho, with others of the same age with himself, not from inclination but by constraint.¹ He told me also, that on visiting the field after the battle he saw a large pile of dead bodies as high as the head of a man : and upon inquiring into the reason, he could neither discover it himself nor get any information about it. It was no wonder that there was a great carnage in case of a general rout, because in a civil war they make no prisoners ; for such captives would be of no advantage to the conquerors ; but it is difficult to assign a reason why the carcasses should be piled up in that manner.

An uncertain rumour was first brought to Otho, and afterwards some of the wounded came and assured him that the battle was lost. On this occasion it was nothing extraordinary that his friends strove to encourage him and keep him from desponding ; but the attachment of the soldiers to him exceeds all belief. None of them left him, or went over to the enemy, or consulted his own

¹ From this passage Dacier would infer, that the life of Otho was not written by Plutarch. He says, a person who served a young man and Otho, could not be old at the time when Plutarch can be supposed to have visited that field of battle. His argument is this :—That battle was fought A.D. 69 ; Plutarch returned from Italy to Cherson about the end of Domitian's reign, A.D. 93 or 94, and never left his native city any more. As this retreat of Plutarch was only 24 or 25 years after the battle of Bedriacum, he concludes that a person who fought in the battle, a young man, could not possibly be old when Plutarch made the tour of Italy ; and therefore conjectures that this, as well as the life of Galba must have been written by a son of Plutarch.

But we think no argument, in a matter

of such importance, ought to be adduced from a passage manifestly corrupt.

Lamprinus, in the catalogue, ascribes these two lives to his father. Nor do we see such a dissimilarity to Plutarch's other writings, either in the style or manner, as warrants us to conclude that they are not of his hand.

Henry Stevens did not, indeed, take them into his edition, because he found them among the *opuscula* ; and, as some of the *opuscula* were supposed to be spurious, he believed too hastily that these were of the number.

We think the loss of Plutarch's other lives of the emperors a real loss to the world, and should have been glad if they had come down to us, even in the same imperfect condition, as to the text, as those of Galba and Otho.

safety, even when their chief despaired of his. On the contrary, they crowded his gates; they called him emperor; they left no form of application untried; they kissed his hands, they fell at his feet, and with groans and tears entreated him not to forsake them, nor give them up to their enemies, but to employ their hearts and hands to the last moment of their lives. They all joined in this request; and one of the private men, drawing his sword, thus addressed himself to Otho: "*Know, Caesar, what your soldiers are ready to do for you,*" and immediately plunged the steel into his heart.

Otho was not moved at this affecting scene; but, with a cheerful and steady countenance, looking round upon the company, spoke as follows: "This day, my fellow-soldiers, I consider as a more happy one than that on which you made me emperor, when I see you thus disposed, and am so great in your opinion. But deprive me not of a still greater happiness, that of laying down my life with honour for so many generous Romans. If I am worthy of the Roman empire, I ought to shed my blood for my country. I know the victory my adversaries have gained is by no means decisive. I have intelligence that my army from Mysia is at the distance of but a few days' march; Asia, Syria, and Egypt, are pouring their legions upon the Adriatic; the forces in Judæa declare for us; the senate is with us; and the very wives and children of our enemies are so many pledges in our hands. But we are not fighting for Italy with Hannibal, or Pyrrhus, or the Cimbrians: our dispute is with the Romans; and whatever party prevails, whether we conquer or are conquered, our country must suffer. Under the victor's joy she bleeds. Believe, then, my friends, that I can die with greater glory than reign: for I know no benefit that Rome can reap from my victory equal to what I shall confer upon her by sacrificing myself for peace and unanimity, and to prevent Italy from beholding such another day as this!"

After he had made this speech, and showed himself immoveable to those who attempted to alter his resolutions, he desired his friends and such senators as were present, to leave him, and provide for their own safety. To those that were absent he sent the same commands, and signified his pleasure to the cities by letters, that they should receive them honourably, and supply them with kind convoys.

He then called his nephew Cocceius,¹ who was yet very young, and bade him compose himself, and not fear Vitellius. "I have taken the same care," said he, "of his mother, his wife, and children, as if they had been my own. And for the same reason, I mean for your sake, I deferred the adoption which I intended you: for I thought proper to wait the issue of this war, that you might reign with me if I conquered, and not fall with me if I was overcome. The last thing, my son, I have to recommend to you is,

¹ Tacitus and Suetonius call him Cocceianus.

neither entirely to forget, nor yet to remember too well, that you had an emperor for your uncle."

A moment after he heard a great noise and tumult at his gate. The soldiers, seeing the senators retiring, threatened to kill them if they moved a step farther or abandoned the emperor. Otho, in great concern for them, showed himself again at the door, but no longer with a mild and supplicating air; on the contrary, he cast such a stern and angry look upon the most turbulent part of them, that they withdrew in great fear and confusion.

In the evening he was thirsty, and drank a little water. Then he had two swords brought him, and having examined the points of both a long time, he sent away the one and put the other under his arm. After this he called his servants, and with many expressions of kindness gave them money. Not that he chose to be lavish of what would soon be another's; for he gave to some more, and to some less, proportioning his bounty to their merit, and paying a strict regard to propriety.

When he had dismissed them, he dedicated the remainder of the night to repose, and slept so sound that his chamberlains heard him at the door. Early in the morning he called his freedman, who assisted him in the care of the senators, and ordered him to make the proper inquiries about them. The answer he brought was, that they were gone, and had been provided with everything they desired. Upon which he said, "Go you, then, and show yourself to the soldiers, that they may not imagine you have assisted me in despatching myself, and put you to some cruel death for it."

As soon as the freedman was gone out, he fixed the hilt of his sword upon the ground, and holding it with both hands, fell upon it with so much force, that he expired with one groan. The servants who waited without heard the groan, and burst into a loud lamentation, which was echoed through the camp and the city. The soldiers ran to the gates with the most pitiable wailings and most unfeigned grief, reproaching themselves for not guarding their emperor, and preventing his dying for them. Not one of them would leave him to provide for himself, though the enemy was approaching. They attired the body in a magnificent manner, and prepared a funeral pile; after which they attended the procession in their armour, and happy was the man that could come to support his bier. Some kneeled and kissed his wound, some grasped his hand, and others prostrated themselves on the ground, and adored him at a distance. Nay, there were some who threw their torches upon the pile, and then slew themselves. Not that they had received any extraordinary favours from the deceased, or were afraid of suffering under the hands of the conqueror; but it seems that no king or tyrant was ever so passionately fond of governing as they were of being governed by Otho. Nor did their affection cease with his death; it survived the grave, and terminated in the hatred and destruction of Vitellius. Of that we shall give an account in its proper place.

After they had interred the remains of Otho, they erected a monument over them, which neither by its size nor by any pomp of epitaph, could excite the least envy. I have seen it at Brixillum; it was very modest, and the inscription only thus :—

TO THE MEMORY OF MARCUS OTHO.

Otho died at the age of thirty-seven, having reigned only three months. Those who find fault with his life are not more respectable, either for their numbers or for their rank, than those who applaud his death: for, though his life was not much better than that of Nero, yet his death was nobler.

The soldiers were extremely incensed against Pollio, one of the principal officers of the guards, for persuading them to take the oath immediately to Vitellius; and being informed, that there were still some senators on the spot, they let the others pass, but solicited Virginius Rufus in a very troublesome manner. They went in arms to his house, and insisted that he should take the imperial title, or at least be their mediator with the conqueror. But he who had refused to accept that title from them when they were victorious, thought it would be the greatest madness to embrace it after they were beaten. And he was afraid of applying to the Germans in their behalf, because he had obliged that people to do many things contrary to their inclinations. He therefore went out privately at another door. When the soldiers found that he had left them, they took the oath to Vitellius, and having obtained their pardon, were enrolled amongst the troops of Cecina.

AN ACCOUNT OF WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND
DENOMINATIONS OF MONEY,

MENTIONED BY PLUTARCH.

From the Tables of Dr. Arbuthnot.

WEIGHTS.

	lb.	oz.	pwt.	gr.
The Roman libra or pound	00	10	18	13½
The Attic mina or pound	00	11	7	16½
The Attic talent equal to sixty-minæ ...	56	11	0	17½

DRY MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

	peck.	gal.	quarts.
The Roman modius	1	0	0½
The Attic choenix, one pint, 15,705½ solid inches nearly	0	0	1½
The Attic medimnus	4	0	6½

LIQUID MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

							pint.	solid inches.
The cotyle	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	2,141 $\frac{1}{2}$
The cyathus	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	0,356 $\frac{1}{4}$
The chus	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	25,698

MEASURES OF LENGTH.

						Eng. paces.	ft.	in.
The Roman foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Roman cubit	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Roman pace	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4 10
The Roman furlong	...	...	...	...	...	120	4	4
The Roman mile	...	...	...	...	...	967	0	0
The Grecian cubit	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Grecian furlong	...	...	...	...	...	100	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Grecian mile	...	...	...	...	...	805	5	0

N.B.—In this computation the English pace is five feet.

MONEY.

						l.	s.	d.	c.
The quadrans, about	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
The as	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
The sestertius	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
The sestertium equal to 1000 sestertii	...	...	...	...	...	8	1	5	2
The denarius	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	7	3
The Attic obolus	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
The drachma	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	7	3
The mina = 100 drachmæ	...	...	...	...	...	3	4	7	0
The talent = 60 minæ	...	...	...	...	...	193	15	0	0
The stater aureus of the Greeks weighing two Attic drachms	...	...	...	...	...	0	16	1	3
The stater-daricus	...	...	...	...	...	1	12	3	0
The Roman aureus was of different value at different periods. According to the proportion mentioned by Tacitus, when it exchanged for 25 denarii, it was of the same value as the Grecian stater.						0	16	1	3

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